STATE LIBRARY OF PENNSYLVANIA
main,stks 930R65514
Ancient history of the Egyptia

0 0001 00402741 1

SR
CLASS 930 BOOK P65514

VOLUME 1

PENNSYLVANIA
STATE LIBRARY

ROLLIN's
ANCIENT HISTORY.

VOL. I.

APPROBATION.

PARIS, *Sept.* 3. 1729.

I HAVE read, by order of the Lord Keeper, a Manuſcript, intituled, *The Ancient Hiſtory of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Perſians, Macedonians, and Greeks, &c.* In this work appear the ſame principles of religion, of probity, and the ſame happy endeavours to improve the minds of youth, which are ſo conſpicuous in all the writings of this author. The preſent work is not confined merely to the inſtruction of young people, but may be of ſervice to all perſons in general; who will now have an opportunity of reading, in their native tongue, a great number of curious events, which before were known to few, except the learned.

SECOUSSE.

Charles Rollin,

late Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-lettres.

THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

BY MR. ROLLIN,

LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS,

&c. &c. &c.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE

EGYPTIANS AND CARTHAGINIANS.

THE NINTH EDITION.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS.

DUNDEE:

PRINTED BY AND FOR J. CHALMERS, HIGH-STREET.

1800.

LETTER

Written by the Right Reverend DR. FRANCIS ATTERBURY, *late Lord Bishop of Rochester, to* MR. ROLLIN, *in commendation of this work.*

Reverende atque Eruditissime Vir,

CUM, monente amico quodam, qui juxta ædes tuas habitat, scirem te Parisios revertisse; statui salutatum te ire, ut primum per valetudinem liceret. Id officii, ex pedum infirmitate aliquandiu dilatum, cum tandem me impleturum sperarem, frustra fui, domi non eras. Restat, ut quod coram exequi non potui, scriptis saltem literis præstem; tibique ob ea omnia, quibus a te auctus sum, beneficia, grates agam, quas habeo certe, et semper habiturus sum, maximas.

Revera munera illa librorum nuperis a te annis editorum egregia ac perhonorifica mihi visa sunt. Multi enim facio, et te, vir præstantissime, et tua omnia quæcunque in isto litterarum genere perpolita sunt; in quo quidem te cæteris omnibus ejusmodi scriptoribus facile antecellere, atque esse eundem et dicendi et sentiendi magistrum optimum, prorsus existimo: cumque in excolendis his studiis aliquantulum ipse et operæ et temporis posuerim, libere tamen profiteor me, tua cum legam ac relegam, ea edoctum esse a te, non solum quæ nesciebam prorsus, sed etiam quæ antea didicisse mihi visus sum. Modeste itaque nimium de opere tuo sentis, cum juventuti tantum instituendæ elaboratum id esse contendis. Ea certe scribis, quæ a viris istiusmodi rerum haud imperitis, cum voluptate et fructu legi possunt. Vetera quidem et satis cognita revocas in memoriam; sed ita revocas, ut illustres, ut ornes; ut aliquid vetustis adjicias quod novum sit, alienis quod omnino tuum: bonasque picturas bona in luce collocando efficis, ut etiam iis, a quibus sæpissime conspectæ sunt, elegantiores tamen solito appareant, et placeant magis.

Certe, dum Xenophontem sæpius versas, ab illo et ea quæ a te plurimis in locis narrantur, et ipsum ubique narrandi modum videris traxisse, stylique Xenophontis nitorem ac venustam simplicitatem non imitari tantum, sed plane assequi: ita ut si Gallice scisset Xenophon, non aliis illum, in eo argumento quod tractas, verbis usurum, non alio prorsus more scripturum judicem.

Hæc ego, haud assentandi causa (quod vitium procul a me abest) sed vere ex animi sententia dico. Cum enim pulchris a te donis ditatus

178601

ditatus sim, quibus in eodem, aut in alio quopiam doctrinæ genere referendis imparem me sentio, volui tamen propensi erga te animi gratique testimonium proferre, et te aliquo saltem munusculo, etsi perquam dissimili, remunerari.

Perge, vir doctissime admodum et venerande, de bonis literis, quæ nunc neglectæ passim et spretæ jacent, bene mereri: perge juventutem Gallicam (quando illi solummodo te utilem esse vis) optimis et præceptis et exemplis informare.

Quod ut facias, annis ætatis tuæ elapsis multos adjiciat Deus! iisque decurrentibus sanum te præstet atque incolumem. Hoc ex animo optat ac vovet,

Tui observantissimus,

Franciscus Roffensis.

Pransurum te mecum post festa dixit mihi amicus ille noster qui tibi vicinus est. Cum statueris tecum quo die adfuturus es, id illi significabis. Me certe annis malisque debilitatum, quandocunque veneris, domi invenies.

6° *Kal. Jan.* 1731.

TRANS-

TRANSLATION.

Reverend and Most Learned Sir,

WHEN I was informed by a friend who lives near you, that you were returned to Paris, I resolved to wait on you as soon as my health would admit. After having been prevented by the gout for some time, I was in hopes at length of paying my respects to you at your house, and went thither, but you were not at home. It is incumbent on me, therefore, to do that in writing, which I could not in person, and to return you my acknowledgments for all the favours you have been pleased to confer upon me, of which, I beg you will be assured, that I shall always retain the most grateful sense.

And indeed I esteem the books you have lately published, as presents of exceeding value, and such as do me very great honour, For I have the highest regard, most excellent Sir, both for you and for every thing that comes from so masterly a hand as yours, in the kind of learning you treat; in which I must believe that you not only excel all other writers, but are at the same time the best master of speaking and thinking well; and I freely confess that though I applied some time and pains in cultivating these studies, when I read your volumes over and over again, I was instructed in things by you of which I was not only entirely ignorant, but seemed to myself to have learned before. You have therefore too modest an opinion of your work, when you declare it composed solely for the instruction of youth. What you write may undoubtedly be read with pleasure and improvement by persons not unacquainted in learning of the same kind. For whilst you call to mind ancient facts and things sufficiently known, you do it in such a manner, that you illustrate, you embellish them; still adding something new to the old, something entirely your own to the labours of others: By placing good pictures in a good light, you make them appear with unusual elegance and more exalted beauties, even to those who have seen and studied them most.

In your frequent correspondence with Xenophon, you have certainly extracted from him, both what you relate in many places, and every-where his very manner of relating; you seem not only to have imitated, but attained the shining elegance and beautiful simplicity of that author's style: So that had Xenophon excelled in the French language, in my judgment, he would have used no other words,

nor

nor written in any other method, upon the subject you treat, than you have done.

I do not say this out of flattery, which is far from being my vice, but from my real sense and opinion. As you have enriched me with your fine presents, which I know how incapable I am of repaying either in the same or in any other kind of learning, I was willing to testify my gratitude and affection for you, and at least to make you some small, though exceedingly unequal, return.

Go on, most learned and venerable Sir, to deserve well of sound literature, which now lies universally neglected and despised. Go on, informing the youth of France, since you will have their utility to be your sole view, upon the best precepts and examples.

Which that you may effect, may it please God to add many years to your life, and, during the course of them, to preserve you in health and safety. This is the earnest wish and prayer of

Your most obedient servant,

Francis Roffen.

P. S. *Our friend, your neighbour, tells me you intend to dine with me after the holidays. When you have fixed upon the day, be pleased to let him know it. Whenever you come, you will certainly find one, so weak with age and ills as I am, at home.*

December 26, 1731.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE uſefulneſs of profane Hiſtory, eſpecially with regard to Religion, Page 1
Of Religion, 26
Of the Feaſts, 29
The Panathenea, *ib.*
Feaſts of Bacchus, 31
The feaſt of Eleuſis, 33
Of Augurs, Oracles, &c. 37
Of Oracles, 41
Of the Games and Combats, 51
Of the Athletæ, or Combatants, 55
Of Wreſtling, 57
Of Boxing, or the Ceſtus, 59
Of the Pancratium, 60
Of the Diſcus, or Quoit, 61
Of the Pentathlum, 62
Of Races, *ib.*
I. Of the Foot-Race, 63
II. Of the Horſe-Races, 64
III. Of the Chariot-Races, 65
Of the honours and rewards granted to the victors, 69
The different taſte of the Greeks and Romans, in regard to public ſhows, 72
Of the prizes of wit, and the ſhows and repreſentations of the theatre 74
Extraordinary paſſion of the Athenians for the entertainments of the ſtage.—Emulation of the poets in diſputing the prizes in thoſe repreſentations.—A ſhort idea of dramatic poetry, 76
The origin and progreſs of Tragedy, 78
Of the Ancient, Middle, and New Comedy, 88
The Theatre of the Ancients deſcribed, 95
Paſſion for the repreſentations of the Theatre, one of the principal cauſes of the degeneracy and corruption of the Athenian State, 99
Epochas of the Jewiſh Hiſtory, 108
Epochas of the Roman Hiſtory, *ib.*
The origin and condition of the Elotæ, or Helots, 110
Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonian Lawgiver, 111
War between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, *ib.*
Wars between the Meſſenians and Lacedæmonians, 112
The Firſt Meſſenian War, *ib.*
The Second Meſſenian War, 117
Catalogue of the Kings of Egypt, 124
——————— Syria, 125
——————— Macedonia, 126

The kingdom of Thrace and Bithynia, &c. 126
Catalogue of the Kings of Bithynia, &c. 127
——— ——— Pergamus, *ib.*
——— ——— Pontus, 128
——— ——— Cappadocia, 129
——— ——— Armenia, 130
——— ——— Epirus, *ib.*
——— of the Tyrants of Heraclea, 131
——— of the Kings of Syracuse, 133
——— of the Editions of the principal Greek Authors cited in this work, 134

BOOK I.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE EGYPTIANS.

PART I.

The description of Egypt, with an account of what is most remarkable and curious in that country, 135
Chap. I. Thebais, 136
Chap. II. Middle Egypt, or Heptanomis, 137
Sect. I. The obeliſks, 138
Sect. II. The pyramids, 139
Sect. III. The labyrinth, 142
Sect. IV. The lake of Mœris, 144
1. The ſource of the Nile, 145
2. The cataracts of the Nile, *ib.*
3. Cauſes of the inundations of the Nile, 146
4. The time and continuance of the inundations, *ib.*
5. The height of the inundations, 147
6. The canals of the Nile, and ſpiral pumps, 148
7. The fertility cauſed by the Nile, 149
8. Two different proſpects exhibited by the Nile, 151
9. The canal formed by the Nile, by which a communication is made between the two ſeas, 152
Chap. III. Lower Egypt *ib.*

PART II.

Of the manners and cuſtoms of the Egyptians, 156
Chap. I. Concerning their kings and government, 157
Chap. II. Concerning the prieſts and religion of the Egyptians, 162
Sect. I. Of the worſhip of the various deities, 164
Sect. II. The ceremonies of the Egyptian funerals, 169
Chap. III. Of the Egyptian ſoldiers and war, 172
Chap IV. Of their arts and ſciences, 174
Chap. V. Of huſbandmen, ſhepherds, and artificers, 176
Chap. VI. Of the fertility of Egypt, 176

PART III.

The hiſtory of the kings of Egypt, 185

BOOK II.

THE HISTORY OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

PART I.

Of the character, manners, religion, and government of the Carthaginians 213

Sect. I. Carthage formed after the model of Tyre, of which that city was a colony, 218
Sect. II. The religion of the Carthaginians, 219
Sect. III. Form of the government of Carthage, 224
The Suffetes, 225
The Senate, 226
The People, 227
The Tribunal of the Hundred, *ib.*
Defects in the government of Carthage, 229
Sect. IV. Trade of Carthage, the first source of its wealth and power, 230
Sect. V. The mines of Spain, the second source of the riches and power of Carthage, 232
Sect. VI. War, 233
Sect. VII. Arts and sciences, 236
Sect. VIII. The character, manners, and qualities of the Carthaginians, 239

PART SECOND.

The history of the Carthaginians, 241
Chap. I. The foundation of Carthage, and its progress to the time of the First Punic War, *ib.*
Conquests of the Carthaginians in Africa, 245
Conquests of the Carthaginians in Sardinia, &c. 246
Conquests of the Carthaginians in Spain, 247
Conquests of the Carthaginians in Sicily, 250
Chap. II. The history of Carthage, from the First Punic War to its destruction, 277
Art. I. The First Punic War, 278
The Libyan War, or against the Mercenaries, 298
Art. II. The Second Punic War, 307
The remote and more immediate causes of the Second Punic War, 308
War proclaimed, 314
The beginning of the Second Punic War, 315
Passage of the Rhone, 317
March after the battle of the Rhone, 318
The passage over the Alps, 320
Hannibal enters Italy, 323
Battle of the Cavalry near the Ticinus, 324
Battle of Trebia, 327
Battle of Thrasymene, 331
Hannibal's Conduct with respect to Fabius, 333
The State of Affairs in Spain, 337
The battle of Cannæ, 338
Hannibal takes up his winter-quarters in Capua, 343
The Transactions relating to Spain and Sardinia, 346
The ill success of Hannibal.—The sieges of Capua and Rome, *ib.*
The defeat and death of the two Scipios in Spain, 348
The defeat and death of Asdrubal, 349
Scipio conquers all Spain.—Is appointed Consul, and sails into Africa. Hannibal is recalled, 352
The interview between Hannibal and Scipio in Africa followed by a battle, 356
A Peace concluded between the Carthaginians and the Romans.—The end of the Second Punic War, 358

A ſhort reflection on the Government of Carthage, in the time of the Second Punic War. 362

THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD PUNIC WAR.

Sect. I. Continuation of the hiſtory of Hannibal, 363
Hannibal reforms the Courts of Juſtice, and the Treaſury of Carthage, *ib.*
Hannibal's retreat and death, 366
The character and eulogium of Hannibal, 373
Sect. II. Diſſentions between the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa king of Numidia, 377
The Third Punic War, 382
A digreſſion on the manners and character of the ſecond Scipio Africanus, 403
The hiſtory of the family and poſterity of Maſiniſſa, 409

The WORLD as known to the ANTIENTS.
Drawn for Mr ROLLIN's antient History by the Sieur D'ANVILLE.
1740
Roman Miles.
Greek Stades.
Persian Parsengs.
French Leagues.
FROZEN SEA
ATLANTIC SEA
AFRICA
GETULIA
LYBIA
NIGRITIA
ASIA MINOR
SYRIA
ARABIA
ETHIOPIA
Nubia
Nilus
Roxolani
Hamaxobii
SCYTHIA
INDIA
Gulf of Ganges
Taprobana I. or Salice
ERYTHREAN SEA
Agisymba
Ophir
Sinus Barbaricus
Equinoctial Line
First Meridian
This Map contains all the Parts of which the Ancients had any knowledge, the they seem to have been better acquainted with the East Parts of Asia than any other

INTRODUCTION.

The Uſefulneſs of Profane Hiſtory, eſpecially with regard to Religion.

What is to be obſerved in hiſtory, beſides the events and chronology.

THE ſtudy of profane hiſtory would be unworthy of a ſerious attention, and a conſiderable length of time, if it were confined to the dry knowledge of ancient tranſactions, and an unpleaſing inquiry into the eras when each of them happened. It little concerns us to know, that there were once ſuch men as Alexander, Cæſar, Ariſtides, or Cato, and that they lived in this or that period; that the empire of the Aſſyrians made way for that of the Babylonians, and the latter for the empire of the Medes and Perſians, who were themſelves ſubjected by the Macedonians, as theſe were afterwards by the Romans.

1. *The cauſes of the riſe and fall of empires.*

But it highly concerns us to know, by what methods thoſe empires were founded; the ſteps by which they roſe to the exalted pitch of grandeur we ſo much admire; what it was that conſtituted their true glory and felicity, and the cauſes of their declenſion and fall.

2. *The genius and character of nations, and of the great perſons that governed them.*

It is of no leſs importance to ſtudy attentively the manners of different nations; their genius, laws, and cuſtoms; and eſpecially to acquaint ourſelves with the character and diſpoſition, the talents, virtues, and even vices of thoſe men by whom they were governed; and whoſe good or bad qualities contributed to the grandeur or decay of the ſtates over which they preſided.

Such are the great objects which ancient hiſtory preſents; exhibiting to our view all the kingdoms and empires of the world; and, at the ſame time, all the great men who were any ways conſpicuous; thereby inſtructing us, by example rather than precept, in the arts of empire and war, the principles of government, the rules of policy, the maxims of civil ſociety, and the conduct of life that ſuits all ages and conditions.

3. The origin and progress of arts and sciences.

We acquire, at the same time, another knowledge, which cannot but excite the attention of all persons who have a taste and inclination for polite learning; I mean, the manner in which arts and sciences were invented, cultivated, and improved; we there discover, and trace as it were with the eye, their origin and progress; and perceive, with admiration, that the nearer we approach those countries which were once inhabited by the sons of Noah, in the greater perfection we find the arts and sciences; and that they seem to be either neglected or forgot, in proportion to the remoteness of nations from them; so that, when men attempted to revive those arts and sciences, they were obliged to go back to the source from whence they originally flowed.

I give only a transient view of these objects, though so very important, in this place, because I have already treated them with some extent elsewhere*.

4. The discovering, especially the connexion between sacred and profane history.

But another object, of infinitely greater importance, claims our attention. For although profane history treats only of nations who had imbibed all the chimeras of a superstitious worship, and abandoned themselves to all the irregularities of which human nature, after the fall of the first man, became capable; it nevertheless proclaims universally the greatness of the Almighty, his power, his justice, and, above all, the admirable wisdom with which his providence governs the universe.

If the† inherent conviction of this last truth raised, according to Cicero's observation, the Romans above all other nations, we may in like manner affirm, that nothing gives history a greater superiority to many other branches of literature, than to see in a manner imprinted, in almost every page of it, the precious footsteps and shining proofs of this great truth, viz. that God disposes all events as supreme lord and sovereign; that he alone determines the fate of kings and the duration of empires; and that he, for reasons inscrutible to all but himself, transfers the government of kingdoms from one nation to another.

He presided at the disper-

We discover this important truth in going back to the most remote antiquity, and the origin of

* Vol. III. and IV. Of the method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres, &c.

† Pietate ac religione, atque hac una sapientia quod deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus. Orat. de Aruspic. resp. n. 19.

profane

ſion of men after the flood.

profane hiſtory; I mean, to the diſperſion of the poſterity of Noah into the ſeveral countries of the earth where they ſettled. Liberty, chance, views of intereſt, a love for certain countries, and ſuch like motives, were, in outward appearance, the only cauſes of the different choice which men made in theſe various migrations. But the ſcriptures inform us, that, amidſt the trouble and confuſion that followed the ſudden change in the language of Noah's deſcendants, God preſided inviſibly over all their councils and deliberations; that nothing was tranſacted but by the Almighty's appointment; and that he only guided * and ſettled all mankind, agreeably to the dictates of his mercy and juſtice: "† The Lord ſcattered them abroad *from thence* upon "the face of the earth."

It is true indeed that God, even in thoſe early ages, had a peculiar regard for that people, whom he was one day to conſider as his own. He pointed out the country which they were to inherit; he cauſed it to be poſſeſſed by another laborious nation, who applied themſelves to cultivate and adorn it; and to improve, by all poſſible methods, the future inheritance of the Iſraelites. He then fixed, in that country, the like number of families, as were to be ſettled in it, when the ſons of Iſrael ſhould, at the appointed time, take poſſeſſion of it; and did not ſuffer any of the nations, which were not ſubject to the curſe pronounced by Noah againſt Canaan, to enter an inheritance that was to be given up entirely to the Iſraelites. ‡ *Quando dividebat Altiſſimus gentes, quando ſeparabat filios Adam, conſtituit terminos populorum juxta numerum filiorum Iſrael.* But this peculiar regard of God to his future people, does not interfere with that which he had for the reſt of the nations of the earth, as is evident from many paſſages of ſcripture, which teach us, that the entire ſucceſſion of ages is preſent to him; that nothing is tranſacted in the whole univerſe, but by his appointment; and that he directs the ſeveral events of it from age to age. § *Tu es Deus conſpector ſeculorum. A ſeculo uſque in ſeculum reſpicis.*

* The ancients themſelves, according to Pindar (Olymp. od. vii.), had retained ſome idea, that the diſperſion of men was not the effect of chance, but that they had been ſettled in different countries by the appointment of Providence.

† Gen. xi. 8, 9.

‡ When the Moſt High divided the nations, and ſeparated the ſons of Adam, he aſſigned the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Iſrael (whom he had in view). This is one of the interpretations (which appears very natural) that is given to this paſſage.

§ Eccleſ. xxxix. 19. xxxiii. 25.

God only has fixed the fate of all empires, both with respect to his own people and the reign of his Son.

We must therefore consider, as an indisputable principle, and as the basis and foundation to the study of profane history, that the providence of the Almighty has, from all eternity, appointed the establishment, duration, and destruction of kingdoms and empires, as well in regard to the plan of the whole universe, known only to God, who constitutes the order and wonderful harmony of its several parts, as particularly with respect to the people of Israel, and still more with regard to the Messiah, and the establishment of the church, which is his great work, the end and design of all his other works, and ever present to his sight: * *Notum à seculo est Domino opus suum.*

God has vouchsafed to discover to us, in holy scripture, a part of the relation of the several nations of the earth to his own people; and the little so discovered, diffuses great light over the history of those nations, of whom we shall have but a very imperfect idea, unless we have recourse to the inspired writers. They alone display, and bring to light, the secret thoughts of princes, their incoherent projects, their foolish pride, their impious and cruel ambition: They reveal the true causes and hidden springs of victories and overthrows; of the grandeur and declension of nations; the rise and ruin of states; and teach us what judgment the Almighty forms both of princes and empires, and consequently, what idea we ourselves ought to entertain of them.

Powerful kings appointed to punish or protect Israel.

Not to mention Egypt, that served at first as the cradle (if I may be allowed the expression) to the holy nation; which afterwards was a kind of severe prison, and a fiery furnace † to it; and at last, the scene of the most astonishing miracles that God ever wrought in favour of Israel: Not to mention, I say, Egypt, the mighty empires of Nineveh and Babylon furnish a thousand proofs of the truth here advanced.

Their most powerful monarchs, Tiglath-Pelasar, Salmanasar, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, and many more, were, in God's hand, as so many instruments, which he employed to punish the transgressions of his people. "‡ He lifted up an "ensign to the nations from far, and hissed unto them from

* Acts xv. 18.

† I will bring you out from under the bondage of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage, out of the iron furnace, even out of Egypt. Exod. vi. 6. Deut. iv. 20.

‡ Isa. v. 26. 30. x. 28. 34. xiii. 4, 5.

"the

" the end of the earth, to come and receive his orders." He himſelf put the ſword into their hands, and appointed their marches daily. He breathed courage and ardour into their ſoldiers; made their armies indefatigable in labour, and invincible in battle; and ſpread terror and conſternation wherever they directed their ſteps.

As their conqueſts were ſo rapid, this ought to have given them ſome glimpſe of the inviſible hand which conducted them. But, ſays one of theſe kings * in the name of the reſt, " † By the ſtrength of my hand I have done it, and by " my wiſdom; for I am prudent: And I have removed the " bounds of the people, and have robbed their treaſures, and " I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant man. And " my hand hath found as a neſt the riches of the people: And " as one gathereth eggs that are left, have I gathered all the " earth, and there was none that moved the wing, or opened " the mouth, or peeped."

But this monarch, ſo auguſt and wiſe in his own eye, how did he appear in that of the Almighty? Only as a ſubaltern, a ſervant ſent by his maſter: " ‡ The rod of his anger, and " the ſtaff in his hand." God's deſign was to chaſtiſe, not to extirpate, his children. But Sennacherib " § had it in his " heart to deſtroy and cut off all nations." What then will be the iſſue of this kind of conteſt between the deſigns of God, and thoſe of this prince ‖? At the time that he fancied himſelf already poſſeſſed of Jeruſalem, the Lord, with a ſingle blaſt, diſperſes all his proud hopes: deſtroys, in one night, an hundred and fourſcore thouſand of his forces. ** Putting " a hook in his noſe, and a bridle in his lips," (as though he had been a wild beaſt) he leads him back to his own dominions, covered with infamy, through the midſt of thoſe nations, who, but a little before, had beheld him in all his pride and haughtineſs.

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, appears ſtill more viſibly governed by a providence, to which he himſelf is an entire ſtranger, although it preſides over all his deliberations, and determines all his actions.

Being come at the head of his army to two highways, the

* Sennacherib. † Iſa. x. 13, 14. ‡ Ibid. x. 5.
§ Iſa. x. 7. ‖ Ibid. ver. 12.
** Becauſe thy rage againſt me, and thy tumult, is come up into mine ears, therefore I will put my hook in thy noſe, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou cameſt. 2 Kings xix. 28.

one of which led to Jeruſalem, and the other to Rabbah, the chief city of the Ammonites, this king, not knowing which of them it would be beſt for him to ſtrike into, debates for ſome time with himſelf, and at laſt caſt lots*. But God makes it fall on Jeruſalem, to fulfil the menaces he had pronounced againſt that city, *viz.* to deſtroy it, to burn the temple, and drag its inhabitants into captivity.

† One would imagine, at firſt ſight, that this king had been prompted to beſiege Tyre merely from a political view, *viz.* that he might not leave behind him ſo powerful and well-fortified a city; nevertheleſs, a ſuperior will had decreed the ſiege of Tyre. God was reſolved, on one ſide, to humble the pride of Ithobal its king, who fancying himſelf wiſer than Daniel, whoſe fame was ſpread over the whole Eaſt, and aſcribing entirely to his rare and uncommon prudence the extent of his dominions, and the greatneſs of his riches, perſuaded himſelf that he was "‡ a god, and ſat in the ſeat of "God." On the other ſide he alſo was reſolved to chaſtiſe that trading people, for their luxury and pride; a people who thought themſelves kings of the ſea, and ſovereigns over crowned heads; and eſpecially, that inhuman joy of the Tyrians, in their looking upon the fall of Jeruſalem (the rival of Tyre) as their grandeur. Theſe were the motives which prompted God himſelf to lead Nebuchadnezzar to Tyre; and to make him execute, though unknowingly, his commands. *Idcirco ecce ego adducam ad Tyrum Nebuchodonoſor.*

§ To recompenſe this monarch, whoſe army the Almighty had cauſed "‖ to ſerve a great ſervice againſt Tyre" (theſe are God's own words), and to compenſate the Babyloniſh troops, for the grievous toils they had ſuſtained during a thirteen years ſiege; "** I will give," ſaith the Lord God, "the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon; "and he ſhall take her multitude, and take her ſpoil, and "take her prey, and it ſhall be the wages for his army."

The ſame Nebuchadnezzar, being fired with a thirſt of immortalizing his name by the grandeur of his exploits, was determined to heighten the glory of his conqueſts with ſplendor and magnificence, by embelliſhing the capital of his empire with pompous edifices, and the moſt ſumptuous ornaments. But whilſt a ſet of adulating courtiers, on whom

* Ezek. xxi. 19. 23. † Ibid. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii. ‡ Ibid. xxviii. 2.
§ This incident is related more at large in the hiſtory of the Egyptians, under the reign of Amaſis.
‖ Ezek. xxix. 18. 20. ** Dan. iv. 1.—34.

he

he laviſhed the higheſt honours and immenſe riches, make all places reſound with his name, an auguſt ſenate of watchful ſpirits is formed, who weigh, in the balance of truth, the actions of kings, and from whoſe ſentence there lies no appeal. The king of Babylon is cited before this tribunal, in which there preſides a ſupreme judge, who, to a vigilance which nothing can elude, adds a holineſs that will not allow of the leaſt irregularity. *Vigil et ſanctus.* In this tribunal all Nebuchadnezzar's actions, which were the admiration and wonder of the public, are examined with rigour; and a ſearch is made into the inward receſſes of his heart, to diſcover his moſt hidden thoughts. How will this formidable inquiry end? At the inſtant that Nebuchadnezzar, walking in his palace, and revolving, with a ſecret complacency, his exploits, his grandeur and magnificence, is ſaying to himſelf, "* Is "not this great Babylon that I built for the houſe of the "kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour "of my majeſty?" in this very inſtant, when, by vainly flattering himſelf that he held his power and kingdom only from himſelf, he uſurped the ſeat of the Almighty: a voice from heaven pronounces his ſentence, and declares to him, that "† his kingdom was departed from him, that he ſhould "be driven from men, and his dwelling be with the beaſts "of the field, until he knew that the Moſt High ruled in "the kingdoms of men, and gave them to whomſoever he "would."

This tribunal, which is for ever aſſembled, though inviſible to mortal eyes, pronounced the like ſentence on thoſe famous conquerors, on thoſe heroes of the pagan world, who, like Nebuchadnezzar, conſidered themſelves as the ſole authors of their exalted fortune; as independent to authority of every kind, and as not holding of a ſuperior power.

As God appointed ſome princes to be the inſtruments of his vengeance, he made others the diſpenſers of his goodneſs. He ordained Cyrus to be the deliverer of his people; and, to enable him to ſupport with dignity ſo glorious a function, he endued him with all the qualities which conſtitute the greateſt captains and princes, and cauſed that excellent education to be given him, which the heathens ſo much admired, though they neither knew the author or true cauſe of it.

We ſee in profane hiſtory the extent and ſwiftneſs of his conqueſts, the intrepidity of his courage, the wiſdom of his

* Dan. v. 20. † Ibid. iv. 31, 32.

views

views and deſigns, his greatneſs of ſoul, his noble generoſity, his truly paternal affection for his ſubjects; and, in them, the grateful returns of love and tenderneſs, which made them conſider him rather as their protector and father, than as their lord and ſovereign. We find, I ſay, all theſe particulars in profane hiſtory; but we do not perceive the ſecret principle of ſo many exalted qualities, nor the hidden ſpring which ſet them in motion.

But Iſaiah affords us this light, and delivers himſelf in words ſuitable to the greatneſs and majeſty of the God who inſpired him. He * repreſents this all-powerful God of armies as leading Cyrus by the hand, marching before him, conducting him from city to city, and from province to province; *ſubduing nations before him, looſening the loins of kings, breaking in pieces gates of braſs, cutting in ſunder the bars of iron,* throwing down the walls and bulwarks of cities, and putting him in poſſeſſion *of the treaſures of darkneſs, and the hidden riches of ſecret places.*

† The prophet alſo tells us the cauſe and motive of all theſe wonderful events. It was in order to puniſh Babylon, and to deliver Judah, that the Almighty conducts Cyrus, ſtep by ſtep, and gives ſucceſs to all his enterpriſes. "‡ I have raiſed "him up in righteouſneſs, and I will direct all his ways.— "For Jacob my ſervant's ſake, and Iſrael mine elect." But this prince is ſo blind and ungrateful, that he does not know his maſter, nor remember his benefactor. "§ I have "ſurnamed thee, though thou haſt not known me.——I "girded thee, though thou haſt not known me."

A fine image of the regal office.

Men ſeldom form to themſelves a right judgment of true glory, and the duties eſſential to regal power. The ſcripture only gives us a full idea of them, and this it does in a wonderful manner, || under the image of a very large and ſtrong tree, whoſe top reaches to heaven, and whoſe branches extend to the extremities of the earth. As its foliage is very abundant, and it is bowed down with fruit, it conſtitutes the ornament and felicity of the plains

* Thus ſaith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whoſe right hand I have holden, to ſubdue nations before him: And I will looſe the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates ſhall not be ſhut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places ſtraight: I will break in pieces the gates of braſs, and cut in ſunder the bars of iron: And I will give thee the treaſures of darkneſs, and hidden riches of ſecret places, that thou mayeſt know that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Iſrael. Iſa. xlv. 1. 2. 3.

† Iſa. xlv. 13, 14. ‡ Ib. xlv. 13. 4. § Ib. xlv. 4, 5. || Dan. iv. 7. 9.

around

around it. It ſupplies a grateful ſhade, and a ſecure retreat to beaſts of every kind: animals, both wild and tame, are ſafely lodged under its hoſpitable branches: the birds of heaven dwell in the boughs of it, and it ſupplies food to all living creatures.

Can there be a more juſt or more inſtructive idea of the kingly office, whoſe true grandeur and ſolid glory does not conſiſt in that ſplendor, pomp, and magnificence which ſurround it; nor in that reverence and exterior homage which are paid to it by ſubjects; but in the real ſervices and ſolid advantages it procures to nations, whoſe ſupport, defence, ſecurity and aſylum, it forms, (both from its nature and inſtitution) at the ſame time that it is the fruitful ſource of terreſtrial bleſſings of every kind; eſpecially with regard to the poor and weak, who ought to find, beneath the ſhade and protection of royalty, a ſweet peace and tranquillity not to be interrupted or diſturbed; whilſt the monarch himſelf ſacrifices his eaſe, and experiences alone thoſe ſtorms and tempeſts from which he ſhelters all others?

Methinks the reality of this noble image, and the execution of this great plan (religion only excepted) appears in the government of Cyrus, of which Xenophon has given us a picture, in his beautiful preface to the hiſtory of that prince. He has there ſpecified a great number of nations, which, though far diſtant one from another, and differing widely in their manners, cuſtoms, and language, were however all united, by the ſame ſentiments of eſteem, reverence, and love for a prince, whoſe government they wiſhed, if poſſible, to have continued for ever, ſo much happineſs and tranquillity did they enjoy under it.

A juſt idea of the conquerors of antiquity.

To this amiable and ſalutary government, let us oppoſe the idea which the ſacred writings give us of thoſe monarchs and conquerors, ſo much boaſted of by antiquity who, inſtead of making the happineſs of mankind the ſole object of their care, were prompted by no other motives than thoſe of intereſt and ambition. * The holy ſpirit repreſents them under the ſymbols of monſters generated from the agitation of the ſea, from the tumult, confuſion, and daſhing of the waves one againſt the other; and under the image of cruel wild beaſts, which ſpread terror and deſolation univerſally, and are for ever gorging themſelves with blood and ſlaughter; bears, lions, tigers, and leopards. How ſtrong and expreſſive is this colouring!

* Dan. vii.

Nevertheleſs,

Nevertheleſs, it is oſten from ſuch deſtructive models, that the rules and maxims of the education generally beſtowed on the children of the great are borrowed; and it is theſe ravagers of nations, theſe ſcourges of mankind, they propoſe to make them to reſemble. By inſpiring them with the ſentiments of a boundleſs ambition, and the love of falſe glory, they become (to borrow an expreſſion from ſcripture) * young "lions; they learn to catch the prey, and devour men—to "lay waſte cities, to turn lands and their fatneſs into deſolation "by the noiſe of their roaring." And when this young lion is grown up, God tells us, that the noiſe of his exploits and the renown of his victories, are nothing but a frightful roaring, which fills all places with terror and deſolation.

The examples I have hitherto mentioned, and which are extracted from the hiſtory of the Egyptians, Aſſyrians, Babylonians, and Perſians, prove ſufficiently the ſupreme power exerciſed by God over all empires, and the relation he thought fit to eſtabliſh between the reſt of the nations of the earth, and his own peculiar people. The ſame truth appears as conſpicuouſly under the kings of Syria and Egypt, ſucceſſors of Alexander the Great: between whoſe hiſtory, and that of the Jews under the Maccabees, every body knows the cloſe connexion.

To theſe incidents I cannot forbear adding another which, though univerſally known, is not therefore the leſs remarkable; I mean, the taking of Jeruſalem by Titus. †When he had entered that city, and viewed all the fortifications of it, this prince, though a heathen, owned the all-powerful arm of the God of Iſrael; and, in a rapture of admiration, cried out, "It is manifeſt that the Almighty has fought for us, and has "driven the Jews from thoſe towers, ſince neither the utmoſt "human force, nor that of all the engines in the world, could "have effected it."

God has always diſpoſed of human events, relatively to the reign of the Meſſiah.

Beſides the viſible and ſenſible connexion of ſacred and profane hiſtory, there is another more ſacred and more diſtinct relation with reſpect to the Meſſiah, for whoſe coming the Almighty, whoſe work was ever preſent to his ſight, prepared mankind from far, even by the ſtate of ignorance and diſſoluteneſs in which he ſuffered them to be immerſed during four thouſand years. It was to

* Ezek. xix. 3. 7.

† Joſeph. l. iii. c. 46.

ſhew

ſhew the neceſſity there was of our having a mediator, that God permitted the nations to walk after their own ways; and that neither the light of reaſon, nor the dictates of philoſophy, could diſpel their clouds of error, or reform their depraved inclinations.

When we take a view of the grandeur of empires, the majeſty of princes, the glorious actions of great men, the order of civil ſocieties, and the harmony of the different members of which they are compoſed, the wiſdom of legiſlators and the learning of philoſophers, the earth ſeems to exhibit nothing to the eye of man but what is great and reſplendent; nevertheleſs, in the eye of God, it was equally barren and uncultivated, as at the firſt inſtant of the creation by the Almighty *fiat*. * *The earth was* WITHOUT FORM AND VOID. This is ſaying but little: It was wholly polluted and impure (the reader will obſerve that I ſpeak here of the heathens) and appeared, to God, only as the haunt and retreat of ungrateful and perfidious men, as it did at the time of the flood. † The earth was corrupt before God, and was filled with iniquity.

Nevertheleſs the ſovereign arbiter of the univerſe, who, purſuant to the dictates of his wiſdom, diſpenſes both light and darkneſs, and knows how to check the impetuous torrent of human paſſions, would not permit mankind, though abandoned to the utmoſt corruptions, to degenerate into abſolute barbarity, and brutalize themſelves, in a manner, by the extinction of the firſt principles of the law of nature, as is ſeen in ſeveral ſavage nations. Such an obſtacle would have retarded too much the rapid courſe promiſed by him to the firſt preachers of the doctrine of his ſon.

He darted from far, into the minds of men, the rays of ſeveral great truths, to diſpoſe them for the reception of others of a more important nature. He prepared them for the inſtructions of the goſpel, by thoſe of philoſophers; and it was with this view that God permitted the heathen profeſſors to examine, in their ſchools, ſeveral queſtions, and eſtabliſh ſeveral principles, which are nearly allied to religion; and to engage the attention of mankind, by the ſpirit and beauty of their diſputations. It is well known, that the philoſophers inculcate in every part of their writings, the exiſtence of a God, the neceſſity of a Providence that preſides in the government of the world, the immortality of the ſoul, the ultimate end of man, the reward of the good and the puniſhment of the wicked, the

* Gen. i. 3. † Ibid. vi. 11.

nature

nature of thoſe duties which conſtitute the band of ſociety, the character of the virtues that are the baſis of morality, as prudence, juſtice, fortitude, temperance, and ſuch like truths, which, though incapable of guiding men to righteouſneſs, yet they were of uſe to ſcatter certain clouds and to diſpel certain obſcurities.

It is by an effect of the ſame providence, which prepared, from far, the ways of the goſpel, that, when the Meſſiah revealed himſelf in the fleſh, God had united together a great number of nations, by the Greek and Latin tongues; and had ſubjected to one monarch, from the Ocean to the Euphrates, all the people not united by language, in order to give a more free courſe to the preaching of the apoſtles. When profane hiſtory is ſtudied with judgment and maturity, it muſt lead us to theſe reflections, and point out to us the manner in which the Almighty makes the empires of the earth ſubſervient to the reign of his ſon.

Exterior talents indulged to the heathens.

It ought likewiſe to teach us the value of all that glitters moſt in the eye of the world, and is moſt capable of dazzling it. Valour, fortitude, ſkill in government, profound policy, merit in magiſtracy, capacity for the moſt abſtruſe ſciences, beauty of genius, univerſal taſte, and perfection in all arts: Theſe are the objects which profane hiſtory exhibits to us, which excites our admiration, and often our envy. But at the ſame time this very hiſtory ought to remind us, that the Almighty, ever ſince the creation, has indulged to his enemies all thoſe ſhining qualities which the world eſteems, and on which it frequently beſtows the higheſt eulogiums; and, on the contrary, that he often refuſes them to his moſt faithful ſervants, whom he endues with talents of an infinitely ſuperior nature, though men neither know their value, nor are deſirous of them. "* Happy is that people that is in ſuch a caſe: Yea, happy "is that people, whoſe God is the Lord."

We muſt not be too profuſe in our applauſes of them.

I ſhall conclude this firſt part of my preface with a reflection which reſults naturally from what has been ſaid. Since it is certain, that all thoſe great men, who are ſo much boaſted of in profane hiſtory, were ſo unhappy as not to know the true God, and to diſpleaſe him, we ſhould therefore be particularly careful not to extol them too much. † St. Auſtin, in his

* Pſal. cxliv. 15.

† Laus ipſa, qua Platonem vel Platonicos ſeu academicos philoſophos tantum extuli, quantum impios homines non oportuit, non immerito mihi

his Retractions, repents his having laviſhed ſo many encomiums on Plato, and the followers of his philoſophy; becauſe theſe, ſays he, were impious men, whoſe doctrine, in many points, was contrary to that of Jeſus Chriſt.

However, we are not to imagine, that St. Auſtin ſuppoſes it to be unlawful for us to admire and peruſe whatever is either beautiful in the actions, or true in the maxims of the heathens. He * only adviſes us to correct all ſuch things as are faulty, and to approve whatever is conformable to the right and the juſt in them. He applauds the Romans on many occaſions, and particularly in his books † *De Civitate Dei*, which is one of the laſt and fineſt of his works. He there ſhews, that the Almighty raiſed them to be victorious over nations, and ſovereigns of a great part of the earth, becauſe of the gentleneſs and equity of their government (alluding to the happy ages of the commonwealth): thus beſtowing on virtues, that were merely human, rewards of the ſame kind with which that people, though very judicious in other reſpects, were ſo unhappy to content themſelves. St. Auſtin therefore does not condemn the encomiums which are beſtowed on the heathens, but only the exceſs of them.

Students ought to take care, and eſpecially we who by the duties of our profeſſion are obliged to be perpetually converſant with heathen authors, not to enter too far into the ſpirit of them; not to imbibe, unperceived, their ſentiments, by laviſhing ſo great applauſes on their heroes; nor to give into exceſſes which the heathens indeed did not conſider as ſuch, becauſe they were not acquainted with virtues of a purer kind. Some perſons, whoſe friendſhip I eſteem as I ought, and for whoſe learning and judgment I have the higheſt regard, have found this defect in ſome parts of my work, on the *Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres*, &c. and are of opinion, that I have gone too great lengths in the encomiums I beſtow on the illuſtrious men of antiquity. I indeed own, that the expreſſions on thoſe occaſions are ſometimes too ſtrong and too unguarded: however, I imagined that I had ſupplied a proper corrective to this, by the hints with which I have interſperſed thoſe four volumes; and therefore that it would be only loſing time to repeat them; not to mention my having laid down, in

mihi diſplicuit; præſertim quorum contra errores magnos defendenda eſt Chriſtiana doctrina. Retract. l. i. c. 1.

* Id in quoque corrigendum, quod pravum eſt; quod autem rectum eſt, approbandum. De Bapt. cont. Donat. l. vii. c. 16.

† Lib. v. cap. 19. 21, &c.

different places, the principles which the fathers of the church eſtabliſh on this head, in declaring, with St. Auſtin, that without true piety (that is, without a ſincere worſhip of God) there can be no true virtue; and that no virtue can be ſuch whoſe object is worldly glory—a truth, ſays this father, acknowledged univerſally by thoſe who are inſpired with real and ſolid piety. * *Illud conſtat inter omnes veraciter pios, neminem ſine vera pietate, id eſt, Dei vero cultu, veram poſſe habere virtutem; nec eam veram eſſe, quando gloriæ ſervit humanæ.*

When I obſerved that Perſeus had not reſolution enough to kill himſelf, I did not thereby pretend to juſtify the practice of the heathens, who looked upon ſuicide as lawful, but ſimply to relate an incident, and the judgment which Paulus Æmilius paſſed on it. Had I barely hinted a word or two againſt that cuſtom, it would have obviated all miſtake, and left no room for cenſure.

The oſtraciſm, employed at Athens againſt perſons of the greateſt merit; theft connived at, as one would imagine, by Lycurgus in Sparta; an equality with regard to poſſeſſions, eſtabliſhed in the ſame city by the authority of the ſtate, and things of a like nature, may admit of ſome difficulty. However, I ſhall have a more immediate attention to theſe † particulars, when the courſe of the hiſtory brings me to them; and ſhall be proud of receiving ſuch lights as the learned and unprejudiced may pleaſe to communicate.

In a work like that I now offer to the public, intended more immediately for the inſtruction of youth, it were heartily to be wiſhed, there might not be one ſingle thought or expreſſion that could contribute to inculcate falſe or dangerous principles. When I firſt ſet about writing the preſent hiſtory, I propoſed this for my maxim, the importance of which I perfectly conceive, but am far from imagining that I have always obſerved it, though it was my intention to do ſo; and therefore on this as on many other occaſions, I ſhall ſtand in need of the reader's indulgence.

As I write principally for the inſtruction of youth, and for perſons who do not intend to make very deep reſearches into ancient hiſtory, I ſhall not crowd this work with a ſort of erudition, that otherwiſe might have been introduced naturally into it, but does not ſuit my purpoſe. My deſign is, in

* De Civitate Dei, lib. iii. c. 19.

† This Mr. Rollin has done admirably in the ſeveral volumes of his Ancient Hiſtory.

giving

giving a continued ſeries of ancient hiſtory, to extract from the Greek and Latin authors all that I ſhall judge moſt uſeful and entertaining with reſpect to the tranſactions, and moſt inſtructive with regard to the reflections.

I wiſh it were poſſible for me to avoid the dry ſterility of epitomes, which convey no diſtinct idea to the mind, and at the ſame time the tedious accuracy of long hiſtories, which tire the reader's patience. I am ſenſible that it is difficult to ſteer exactly between the two extremes; and although in the two parts of hiſtory of which this firſt volume conſiſts, I have retrenched a great part of what we meet with in ancient authors, they may ſtill be thought too long: but I was afraid of ſpoiling the incidents, by being too ſtudious of brevity. However, the taſte of the public ſhall be my guide, to which I ſhall endeavour to conform hereafter.

I was ſo happy as not to diſpleaſe the public in my firſt attempt*. I wiſh the preſent work may be equally ſucceſsful, but dare not raiſe my hopes ſo high. The ſubjects I there treated, *viz.* polite literature, poetry, eloquence, and curious pieces of hiſtory, gave me an opportunity of introducing into it, from ancient and modern authors, whatever is moſt beautiful, affecting, delicate and juſt, with regard both to thought and expreſſion. The beauty and juſtneſs of the things themſelves, which I offered the reader, made him more indulgent to the manner in which they were preſented to him; and beſides, the variety of ſubjects ſupplied the want of thoſe graces which might be expected from the ſtyle and compoſition.

But I have not the ſame advantage in the preſent work, the choice of the ſubjects not being entirely at my diſcretion. In a ſeries of hiſtory, an author is often obliged to introduce a great many things that are not always very affecting and agreeable, eſpecially with regard to the origin and riſe of empires; which parts are generally over-run with thorns, and offer very few flowers. However, the ſequel furniſhes matter of a more pleaſing nature, and events that engage more ſtrongly the reader's attention; and I ſhall take care to make uſe of whatever is moſt valuable in the beſt authors. In the mean time, I muſt intreat the reader to remember, that in a wide-extended and beautiful region, the eye does not every-where meet with golden harveſts, ſmiling meads, and fruitful orchards; but ſees, at different intervals, wild and leſs cultivated tracts of land. And,

* The Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres, &c.

to use another comparison after Pliny*; some trees in the spring assiduously shoot forth a numberless multitude of blossoms, which by this rich dress (the splendour and vivacity of whose colours charm the eye) proclaim a happy abundance in a more advanced season: whilst other trees †, of a less gay and florid kind, though they bear good fruits, have not however the fragrance and beauty of blossoms, nor seem to share in the joy of reviving nature. The reader will easily apply this image to the composition of history.

To adorn and enrich my own, I will be so ingenuous as to confess, that I do not scruple, nor am ashamed, to rifle wherever I come; and that I often do not cite the authors from whom I transcribe, because of the liberty I take to make some slight alterations. I have made the best use in my power of the solid reflections that occur in the second and third parts of the bishop of Meaux's ‡ *Universal History*, which is one of the most beautiful and most useful books in our language. I have also received great assistance from the learned Dean Prideaux's *Connection of the Old and New Testament*, in which he has traced and cleared up, in an admirable manner, the particulars relating to ancient history. I shall take the same liberty with whatever comes in my way, that may suit my design, and contribute to its perfection.

I am very sensible, that it is not so much for a person's reputation to make use of other men's labours, and that it is in a manner renouncing the name and quality of author. But I am not over-fond of that title, and shall be extremely well pleased, and think myself very happy, if I can but deserve the name of a good compiler, and supply my readers with a tolerable history, who will not be over-solicitous to enquire what hand it comes from, provided they are but pleased with it.

I cannot determine the exact number of volumes which this work will make, but am persuaded there will be no less than ten or twelve §. Students, with a moderate application, may easily go through this course of history in a year, without interrupting their other studies. According to my plan, my

* Arborum flos, est pleni veris indicium, et anni renascentis; flos gaudium arborum. Tunc se novas, aliasque quam sunt, ostendunt, tunc variis colorum picturis in certamen usque luxuriant. Sed hoc negatum plerisque. Non enim omnes florent, et sunt tristes quædam, quæque non sentiant gaudia annorum; nec ullo flore exhilarantur, natalesve peragorum recursus annuos versicolori nuntio promittunt. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xvi. c. 25.

† As the fig-tree.

‡ M. Bossuet.

§ Former editions of this work were printed in ten volumes.

work

work ſhould be given to the higheſt form but one. Youths in this claſs are capable of pleaſure and improvement from this hiſtory; and I would not have them go upon that of the Romans, till they ſtudy rhetoric.

It would have been uſeful, and even neceſſary, to have given ſome idea of the ancient authors from whence I have extracted the following materials. But the courſe itſelf of the hiſtory will ſhew this, and naturally give me an opportunity of producing them.

The judgment we ought to form of the auguries, prodigies, and oracles of the ancients.

In the mean time, it may not be improper to take notice of the ſuperſtitious credulity objected to moſt of theſe authors, with regard to auguries, auſpices, prodigies, dreams, and oracles. And indeed we are ſhocked, to ſee writers, ſo judicious in all other reſpects, lay it down as a kind of a law, to relate theſe particulars with a ſcrupulous accuracy; and to dwell gravely on a tedious detail of low, ridiculous ceremonies, ſuch as the flight of birds to the right or left hand, ſigns diſcovered in the ſmoking entrails of beaſts, the greater or leſs greadineſs of chickens in pecking corn, and a thouſand ſuch abſurdities.

It muſt be confeſſed, that a reader of judgment cannot without aſtoniſhment ſee the moſt illuſtrious perſons among the ancients for wiſdom and knowledge; generals who were the leaſt able to be influenced by popular opinions, and moſt ſenſible how neceſſary it is to take advantage of auſpicious moments; the wiſeſt councils of princes perfectly well ſkilled in the arts of government; the moſt auguſt aſſemblies of grave ſenators; in a word, the moſt powerful and moſt learned nations in all ages; to ſee, I ſay, all theſe ſo unaccountably weak, as to make the deciſion of the greateſt affairs, ſuch as the declaring of war, the giving battle, or purſuing a victory, depend on the trifling practices and cuſtoms above-mentioned; deliberations that were of the utmoſt importance, and on which the fate and welfare of kingdoms frequently depended.

But, at the ſame time, we muſt be ſo juſt as to own, that their manners, cuſtoms, and laws, would not permit men, in theſe ages, to diſpenſe with the obſervation of theſe practices: that education, hereditary tradition tranſmitted from immemorial time, the univerſal belief and conſent of different nations, the precepts and even examples of philoſophers; that all theſe, I ſay, made the practices in queſtion appear venerable in their eyes: and that theſe ceremonies, how abſurd ſoever they may appear to us, and are really ſo in themſelves,

conſtituted part of the religion and public worſhip of the ancients.

This was a falſe religion, and a miſtaken worſhip; and yet the principle of it was laudable, and founded in nature; the ſtream was corrupted, but the fountain was pure. Man, when abandoned to his own ideas, ſees nothing beyond the preſent moment. Futurity is to him an abyſs inviſible to the moſt eagle-eyed, the moſt piercing ſagacity, and exhibits nothing on which he may fix his views, or form any reſolution with certainty. He is equally feeble and impotent with regard to the execution of his deſigns. He is ſenſible, that he is dependent entirely on a ſupreme power, that diſpoſes all events with abſolute authority, and which, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, and of the wiſdom of the beſt-concerted ſchemes, by only raiſing the ſmalleſt obſtacles and ſlighteſt modifications, renders it impoſſible for him to execute his meaſures.

This obſcurity and weakneſs oblige him to have recourſe to a ſuperior knowledge and power. He is forced, both by his immediate wants, and the ſtrong deſire he has to ſucceed in all his undertakings, to addreſs that Being whom he is ſenſible has reſerved to himſelf alone the knowledge of futurity, and the power of diſpoſing it as he ſees fitting. He accordingly diſcloſes prayers, makes vows, and offers ſacrifices, to prevail, if poſſible, with the Deity, to reveal himſelf, either in dreams, in oracles, or other ſigns which may manifeſt his will; fully convinced that nothing can happen but by the divine appointment, and that it is a man's greateſt intereſt to know this ſupreme will, in order to conform his actions to it.

This religious principle of dependence on, and veneration of the Supreme Being, is natural to man: It is for ever imprinted deep in his heart; he is reminded of it by the inward ſenſe of his extreme indigence, and by all the objects which ſurround him; and it may be affirmed, that this perpetual recourſe to the Deity is one of the principal foundations of religion, and the ſtrongeſt band by which man is united to his Creator.

Thoſe who were ſo happy as to know the true God, and were choſen to be his peculiar people, never failed to addreſs him in their wants and doubts, in order to obtain his ſuccour, and the manifeſtation of his will. He accordingly was ſo gracious as to reveal himſelf to them; to conduct them by apparitions, dreams, oracles, and prophecies; and to protect them by miracles of the moſt aſtoniſhing kind.

But thoſe who were ſo blind as to ſubſtitute falſehood in the

place

place of truth, directed themſelves, for the like aid, to fictitious and deceitful deities, who were not able to anſwer their expectations, nor recompenſe the homage that mortals paid them, any otherwiſe than by error and illuſion, and a fraudulent imitation of the conduct of the true God.

Hence aroſe the vain obſervation of dreams, which, from a ſuperſtitious credulity, they miſtook for ſalutary warnings from heaven; thoſe obſcure and equivocal anſwers of oracles, beneath whoſe veil the ſpirits of darkneſs concealed their ignorance; and who, by a ſtudied ambiguity, reſerved to themſelves an evaſion or ſubterfuge, whatever might be the iſſue of the event. To this are owing the prognoſtics, with regard to futurity, which men fancied they ſhould find in the entrails of beaſts, in the flight and ſinging of birds, in the aſpect of the planets, in fortuitous accidents, and in the caprice of chance; thoſe dreadful prodigies that filled a whole nation with terror, and which, as was believed, nothing could expiate but mournful ceremonies, and even ſometimes the effuſion of human blood: In fine, thoſe black inventions of magic, thoſe deluſions, inchantments, ſorceries, invocations of ghoſts, and many other kinds of divination.

All I have here related was a received uſage, obſerved by the heathen nations in general; and this uſage was founded on the principles of that religion of which I have given a ſhort account. We have a ſignal proof of this in the Cyropedia*, where Cambyſes, the father of Cyrus, gives that young prince ſuch noble inſtructions; inſtructions admirably well adapted to form the great captain and great prince. He exhorts him, above all things, to pay the higheſt reverence to the gods; and not to undertake any enterpriſe, whether important or inconſiderable, without firſt calling upon and conſulting them; he enjoins him to honour prieſts and augurs, as being their miniſters, and the interpreters of their will; but yet not to truſt or abandon himſelf implicitly and blindly to them, till he had firſt learned every thing relating to the ſcience of divination, of auguries and auſpices. The reaſon he gives for the ſubordination and dependence in which kings ought to live with regard to the gods, and the neceſſity they are under of conſulting them in all things, is this:—how clear-ſighted ſoever mankind may be in the ordinary courſe of affairs, their views are always very narrow and bounded with regard to futurity; whereas the Deity, at a ſingle glance, takes in all ages and events. "As the gods," ſays Cambyſes to his ſon, "are eter-"nal, they know equally all things, paſt, preſent, and to

* Xenoph. in Cyrop. l. i. p. 25-27.

"come.

" come. With regard to the mortals who addreſs them, " they give ſalutary counſels to thoſe whom they are pleaſed " to favour, that they may not be ignorant of what things " they ought, or ought not to undertake. If it is obſerved, " that the deities do not give the like counſels to all men, we " are not to wonder at it, ſince no neceſſity obliges them to " attend to the welfare of thoſe perſons, on whom they do " not vouchſafe to confer their favour."

Such was the doctrine of the moſt learned and moſt enlightened nations, with reſpect to the different kinds of divination; and it is no wonder that the authors, who wrote the hiſtory of thoſe nations, thought it incumbent on them to give an exact detail of ſuch particulars as conſtituted part of their religion and worſhip, and was frequently in a manner the ſoul of their deliberations, and the ſtandard of their conduct. I therefore was of opinion, for the ſame reaſon, that it would not be proper for me to omit entirely, in the enſuing hiſtory, what relates to this ſubject, though I have, however, retrenched a great part of it.

Archbiſhop Uſher is my uſual guide in chronology. In the hiſtory of the Carthaginians I commonly ſet down four eras: The year from the creation of the world, which, for brevity's ſake, I mark A. M.; thoſe of the foundation of Carthage and Rome; and laſtly, the year that precedes the birth of our Saviour, which I ſuppoſe to be the 4004th of the world; wherein I follow Uſher and others, though they ſuppoſe it to be four years earlier.

We ſhall now proceed to give the reader the proper preliminary information concerning this work, according to the order in which it is executed.

To know in what manner the ſtates and kingdoms were founded, that have divided the univerſe: the ſteps whereby they roſe to that pitch of grandeur related in hiſtory; by what ties families and cities united, in order to conſtitute one body or ſociety, and to live together under the ſame laws and a common authority; it will be neceſſary to trace things back, in a manner, to the infancy of the world, and to thoſe ages in which mankind, being diſperſed into different regions (after the confuſion of tongues), began to people the earth.

In theſe early ages every father was the ſupreme head of his family; the arbiter and judge of whatever conteſts and diviſions might ariſe within it; the natural legiſlator over his little ſociety; the defender and protector of thoſe, who, by their birth, education, and weakneſs, were under his protection and ſafeguard.

But

But although these masters enjoyed an independent authority, they made a mild and paternal use of it. So far from being jealous of their power, they neither governed with haughtiness, nor decided with tyranny. As they were obliged by necessity to associate their family in their domestic labours, they also summoned them together, and asked their opinion in matters of importance. In this manner all affairs were transacted in concert, and for the common good.

The laws which the paternal vigilance established in this little domestic senate, being dictated in no other view but to promote the general welfare; concerted with such children as were come to years of maturity, and accepted by the inferiors with a full and free consent; were religiously kept and preserved in families as an hereditary polity, to which they owed their peace and security.

But different motives gave rise to different laws. One man, overjoyed at the birth of a first-born son, resolved to distinguish him from his future children, by bestowing on him a more considerable share of his possessions, and giving him a greater authority in his family. Another, more attentive to the interest of a beloved wife or darling daughter, whom he wanted to settle in the world, thought it incumbent on him to secure their rights, and increase their advantages. The solitary and cheerless state to which a wife would be reduced, in case she should become a widow, affected more intimately another man, and made him provide, beforehand, for the subsistence and comfort of a woman who formed his felicity.

In proportion as every family increased, by the birth of children, and their marrying into other families, they extended their little domain, and formed, by insensible degrees, towns and cities. From these different views, and others of the like nature, arose the different customs of nations, as well as their rights, which are various.

These societies growing, in process of time, very numerous, and the families being divided into various branches, each of which had its head, whose different interests and characters might interrupt the general tranquillity; it was necessary to intrust one person with the government of the whole, in order to unite all these chiefs or heads under a single authority, and to maintain the public peace by an uniform administration. The idea which men still retained of the paternal government, and the happy effects they had experienced from it, prompted them to choose, from among their wisest and most virtuous men, him in whom they had observed the tenderest and most father-

ly

ly diſpoſition. Neither ambition nor cabal had the leaſt ſhare in this choice; probity alone, and the reputation of virtue and equity, decided on theſe occaſions, and gave the preference to the moſt worthy*.

To heighten the luſtre of their newly-acquired dignity, and enable them the better to put the laws in execution, as well as to devote themſelves entirely to the public good; to defend the ſtate againſt the invaſions of their neighbours, and the factions of diſcontented citizens; the title of King was beſtowed upon them, a throne was erected, and a ſceptre put into their hands; homage was paid them, officers were aſſigned, and guards appointed for the ſecurity of their perſons; tributes were granted; they were inveſted with full powers to adminiſter juſtice, and for this purpoſe were armed with a ſword, in order to reſtrain injuſtice, and puniſh crimes†.

At firſt, every city had its particular king, who, being more ſolicitous of preſerving his dominion than of enlarging it, confined his ambition within the limits of his native country. But the almoſt unavoidable feuds which break out between neighbours; the jealouſy againſt a more powerful king; the turbulent and reſtleſs ſpirit of a prince; his martial diſpoſition, or thirſt of aggrandizing himſelf, and diſplaying his abilities; gave riſe to wars, which frequently ended in the entire ſubjection of the vanquiſhed, whoſe cities were by that means poſſeſſed by the victor, and increaſed infenſibly his dominions. ‡Thus, a firſt victory paving the way to a ſecond, and making a prince more powerful and enterprizing, ſeveral cities and provinces were united under one monarch, and formed kingdoms of a greater or leſs extent, according to the degree of ardour with which the victor had puſhed his conqueſts.

The ambition of ſome of theſe princes being too vaſt to confine itſelf within a ſingle kingdom, it broke over all bounds, and ſpread univerſally like a torrent, or the ocean; ſwallowed up kingdoms and nations; and gloried in depriving princes of their dominions, who had not done them the leaſt injury; in carrying fire and ſword into the moſt remote countries, and in leaving, every-where, bloody traces of their progreſs! Such

* Quos ad faſtigium hujus majeſtatis, non ambitio popularis, ſed ſpectata inter bonos moderatio providebat. Juſtin. l. i. c. 1.

† Fines imperii tueri magis quam proferre mos erat. Intra ſuam cuique patriam regna finiebantur. Juſtin. ibid.

‡ Domitis proximis, cum acceſſione virium fortior ad alios tranſiret, et proxima quæque victoria inſtrumentum ſequentis eſſet, totius orientis populos ſubegit. Juſtin. ibid.

was

was the origin of thoſe famous empires which included a great part of the world.

Princes made a various uſe of victory, according to the diverſity of their diſpoſitions or intereſts. Some, conſidering themſelves as abſolute maſters of the conquered, and imagining they were ſufficiently indulgent in ſparing their lives, bereaved them, as well as their children, of their poſſeſſions, their country, and their liberty; ſubjected them to a moſt ſevere captivity; employed them in thoſe arts which are neceſſary for the ſupport of life, in the loweſt and moſt ſervile offices of the houſe, in the painful toils of the field; and frequently forced them, by the moſt inhuman treatment, to dig in mines, and ranſack the bowels of the earth, merely to ſatiate their avarice; and hence mankind were divided into freemen and ſlaves, maſters and bondmen.

Others introduced the cuſtom of tranſporting whole nations into new countries, where they ſettled them, and gave them lands to cultivate.

Other princes again, of more gentle diſpoſitions, contented themſelves with only obliging the vanquiſhed nations to purchaſe their liberties, and the enjoyment of their lives and privileges, by annual tributes laid on them for that purpoſe; and ſometimes they would ſuffer kings to ſit peaceably on their thrones, upon condition of their paying them ſome kind of homage.

But ſuch of theſe monarchs as were the wiſeſt and ableſt politicians, thought it glorious to eſtabliſh a kind of equality betwixt the nations newly conquered, and their other ſubjects; granting the former almoſt all the rights and privileges which the others enjoyed: And by this means a great number of nations, that were ſpread over different and far diſtant countries, conſtituted, in ſome meaſure, but one city, at leaſt but one people.

Thus I have given a general and conciſe idea of mankind, from the earlieſt monuments which hiſtory has preſerved on this ſubject, the particulars whereof I ſhall endeavour to relate in treating of each empire and nation. I ſhall not touch upon the hiſtory of the Jews and of the Romans.

The hiſtory of the Carthaginians, the Aſſyrians, and the Lydians, which occur in the ſecond volume, is ſupported by the beſt authorities; but it is highly neceſſary to review the geography, the manners and cuſtoms of the different nations here treated of; and firſt with regard to the religion, manners, and inſtitutions of the Perſians and Grecians, becauſe theſe

ſhew

ſhew their genius and character, which we may call, in ſome meaſure, the ſoul of hiſtory: for to take notice only of eras and events, and confine our curioſity and reſearches to them, would be imitating the imprudence of a traveller, who, in viſiting many countries, ſhould content himſelf with knowing their exact diſtance from each other, and conſider only the ſituation of the ſeveral places, the manner of building, and the dreſſes of the people; without giving himſelf the leaſt trouble to converſe with the inhabitants, in order to inform himſelf of their genius, manners, diſpoſition, laws and government. Homer, whoſe deſign was to give, in the perſon of Ulyſſes, a model of a wiſe and intelligent traveller, tells us, at the very opening of his Odyſſey, that his hero informed himſelf very exactly in the manners and cuſtoms of the ſeveral people whoſe cities he viſited; in which he ought to be imitated by every perſon who applies himſelf to the ſtudy of hiſtory.

As Aſia will hereafter be the principal ſcene of the hiſtory we are now entering upon, it may not be improper to give the reader ſuch a general idea of it, as may at leaſt give him ſome knowledge of its moſt conſiderable provinces and cities.

The northern and eaſtern parts of Aſia are leſs known in ancient hiſtory.

To the north are ASIATIC SARMATIA and ASIATIC SCYTHIA, which anſwer to Tartary.

Sarmatia is ſituated between the river *Tanais*, which divides Europe and Aſia, and the river *Rha*, or *Volga*. Scythia is divided into two parts; the one on this, the other on the other ſide of mount *Imaus*. The nations of Scythia beſt known to us are the *Sacae* and the *Maſſagetae*.

The moſt eaſtern parts are, SERICA, Cathay; SINARUM REGIO, China; and INDIA. This laſt country was better known anciently than the two former. It was divided into two parts; the one on this ſide the river *Ganges*, included between that river and the *Indus*, which now compoſes the dominions of the Great Mogul; the other part was that on the other ſide of the Ganges.

The remaining part of Aſia, of which much greater mention is made in hiſtory, may be divided into five or ſix parts, taking it from eaſt to weſt.

I. The GREATER ASIA, which begins at the river Indus. The chief provinces are, GEDROSIA, CARMANIA, ARACHOSIA, DRANGIANIA, BACTRIANA, the capital of which was *Bactria*; SOGDIANA, MARGIANA, HYRCANIA, near the Caſpian ſea; PARTHIA, MEDIA, the city *Ecbatana*; PERSIA, the cities of *Perſepolis*

Perſepolis and *Elymais*; SUSIANA, the city of *Suſa*; ASSYRIA, the city of *Nineveh*, ſituated on the river *Tigris*; MESOPOTAMIA, between the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*; BABYLONIA, the city of *Babylon* on the river Euphrates.

II. ASIA BETWEEN PONTUS EUXINUS AND THE CASPIAN SEA. Therein we may diſtinguiſh four provinces. 1. COLCHIS, the river *Phaſis*, and mount *Caucaſus*. 2. IBERIA. 3. ALBANIA; which two laſt-mentioned provinces now form part of Georgia. 4. The greater ARMENIA. This is ſeparated from the leſſer by the Euphrates; from Meſopotamia by mount *Tauris*; and from Aſſyria by mount *Niphates*. Its cities are *Artaxata* and *Tigranocerta*, and the river *Araxes* runs through it.

III. ASIA MINOR. This may be divided into four or five parts, according to the different ſituation of its provinces.

1. *Northward*, on the ſhore of Pontus Euxinus, PONTUS, under three different names. Its cities are, *Trapezus*, not far from whence are the people called *Chalybes* or *Chaldæi*; *Themiſcyra*, a city on the river *Thermodoon*, and famous for having been the abode of the Amazons. PAPHLAGONIA, BITHYNIA; the cities of which are, *Nicia*, *Pruſa*, *Nicomedia*, *Chalcedon* oppoſite to Conſtantinople, and *Heraclea*.

2. *Weſtward*, going down by the ſhores of the Ægean ſea, MYSIA, of which there are two.—The LESSER, in which ſtood *Cyzicus*, *Lampſacus*, *Parium*, *Abydos* oppoſite to Seſtos, from which it is ſeparated only by the Dardanelles; *Dardanum*, *Sigæum*, *Ilion*, or *Troy*; and almoſt on the oppoſite ſide, the little iſland of *Tenedos*. The rivers are, the *Arſepe*, the *Granicus*, and the *Simois*. Mount *Ida*. This region is ſometimes called Phrygia Minor, of which *Troas* is part.

The GREATER MYSIA. *Antandros*, *Trajanopolis*, *Adramyttium*, *Pergamus*. Oppoſite to this Myſia is the iſland of LESBOS; the cities of which are, *Methymna*, where the celebrated Arion was born, and *Mitylene*, whence the whole iſland was ſo called.

ÆOLIA. *Elea*, *Cuma*, *Phocæa*.

IONIA. *Smyrna*, *Clazomenæ*, *Teos*, *Lebedus*, *Colophon*, *Epheſus*, *Priene*, *Miletus*.

CARIA. *Laodicea*, *Antiochia*, *Magneſia*, *Alabanda*. The river *Mæander*.

DORIS. *Halicarnaſſus*, *Cnidos*.

Oppoſite to theſe four laſt countries, are the iſlands CHIOS, SAMOS, PATMOS, COS; and lower, towards the ſouth, RHODES.

3. *Southward*, along the Mediterranean:

Lycia, the cities of which are, *Telmeſſus*, *Patara*. The river *Xanthus*. Here begins mount *Taurus*, which runs the whole length of Aſia, and aſſumes different names, according to the ſeveral countries through which it paſſes.

Pamphylia. *Perga*, *Aſſpendus*, *Sida*.

Cilicia. *Seleucia*, *Corycium*, *Tarſus*, on the river *Cydnus*. Oppoſite to Cilicia is the iſland of *Cyprus*. The cities are, *Salamis*, *Amathus*, and *Paphos*.

4. *Along the banks of the Euphrates*, going up northward:

The Lesser Armenia. *Comana*, *Arabyza*, *Melitene*, *Satala*. The river *Melas*, which emptics itſelf into the Euphrates.

5. *Inlands:*

Cappadocia. The cities whereof are, *Neocæſarea*, *Comana Pontica*, *Sebaſtia*, *Sebaſtopolis*, *Diocæſarea*, *Cæſarea*, otherwiſe called *Mazaca*, and *Tyana*.

Lycaonia and Isauria. *Iconium*, *Iſauria*.

Pisidia. *Seleucia* and *Antiochia* of *Piſidia*.

Lydia. Its cities are, *Thyatira*, *Sardis*, *Philadelphia*. The rivers are, *Cayſtrus* and *Hermus*, into which the *Pactolus* empties itſelf. Mount *Sipylus* and *Tmolus*.

Phrygia major. *Synnada*, *Apamia*.

IV. Syria, now named *Suria*, called under the Roman emperors the *Eaſt*, the chief provinces of which are,

1. Palestine, by which name is ſometimes underſtood all Judea. Its cities are, *Jeruſalem*, *Samaria*, and *Cæſarea Paleſtina*. The river *Jordan* waters it. The name of *Paleſtine* is alſo given to the land of Canaan, which extended along the Mediterranean; the chief cities of which are, *Gaza*, *Aſcalon*, *Azotus*, *Accaron*, and *Gath*.

2. Phoenicia, whoſe cities are, *Ptolemais*, *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Berytus*. Its mountains, *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*.

3. Syria, properly ſo called, or Antiochena; the cities whereof are, *Antiochia*, *Apamia*, *Laodicea*, and *Seleucia*.

4. Comagena. The city of *Samoſata*.

5. Coelosyria. The cities are, *Zeugma*, *Thapſacus*, *Palmyra*, and *Damaſcus*.

V. Arabia Petræa. Its cities are, *Petra* and *Boſtra*. Mount *Caſius*. Deserta. Foelix.

Of Religion.

It is obſervable, that in all ages and regions the ſeveral nations of the world, however various and oppoſite in their characters, inclinations and manners, have always united in one eſſential

eſſential point—the inherent opinion of an adoration due to a ſupreme being, and of external methods neceſſary to evidence ſuch a belief. Into whatever country we caſt our eyes, we find prieſts, altars, ſacrifices, feſtivals, religious ceremonies, temples, or places conſecrated to religious worſhip. In every people we diſcover a reverence and awe of the divinity; an homage and honour paid to him; and an open profeſſion of an entire dependence upon him in all their undertakings and neceſſities, in all their adverſities and dangers. Incapable of themſelves to penetrate futurity, and to aſcertain events in their own favour, we find them intent upon conſulting the divinity by oracles, and by other methods of a like nature; and to merit his protection by prayers, vows, and offerings. It is by the ſame ſupreme authority they believe the moſt ſolemn treaties are rendered inviolable. It is it that gives ſanction to their oaths; and to that by imprecations is referred the puniſhment of ſuch crimes and enormities as eſcape the knowledge and power of men. On their private occaſions, voyages, journeys, marriages, diſeaſes, the divinity is ſtill invoked. With him their every repaſt begins and ends. No war is declared, no battle fought, no enterprize formed, without his aid being firſt implored; to which the glory of the ſucceſs is conſtantly aſcribed by public acts of thankſgiving, and by the oblation of the moſt precious of the ſpoils, which they never fail to ſet apart as the indiſpenſable right of the divinity.

They never vary in regard to the foundation of this belief. If ſome few perſons, depraved by bad philoſophy, preſume from time to time to riſe up againſt this doctrine, they are immediately diſclaimed by the public voice. They continue ſingular and alone, without making parties, or forming ſects: the whole weight of the public authority falls upon them; a price is ſet upon their heads; whilſt they are univerſally regarded as execrable perſons, the bane of civil ſociety, with whom it is criminal to have any kind of commerce.

So general, ſo uniform, ſo perpetual a conſent of all the nations of the univerſe, which neither the prejudice of the paſſions, the falſe reaſoning of ſome philoſophers, nor the authority and example of certain princes, have ever been able to weaken or vary, can proceed only from a firſt principle which ſhares in the nature of man; from an inherent ſenſe implanted in his heart by the author of his being; and from an original tradition as ancient as the world itſelf.

Such were the ſource and origin of the religion of the ancients; truly worthy of man, had he been capable of perſiſting

in the purity and ſimplicity of theſe firſt principles: but the errors of the mind, and the vices of the heart, thoſe ſad effects of the corruption of human nature, ſtrangely disfigured their original beauty. They are but faint rays, ſmall ſparks of light, that a general depravity does not utterly extinguiſh; but they are incapable of diſpelling the profound darkneſs of a night, which prevails almoſt univerſally, and preſents nothing to view but abſurdities, follies, extravagancies, licentiouſneſs, and diſorder; in a word, an hideous chaos of frantic exceſſes and enormous vices.

Can any thing be more admirable than theſe maxims of Cicero* ?—That we ought above all things to be convinced that there is a ſupreme being, who preſides over all the events of the world, and diſpoſes every thing as ſovereign lord and arbiter: That it is to him mankind are indebted for all the good they enjoy: That he penetrates into, and is conſcious of whatever paſſes in the moſt ſecret receſſes of our hearts: That he treats the juſt and the impious according to their reſpective merits: That the true means of acquiring his favour, and of being pleaſing in his ſight, is not by the uſe of riches and magnificence in his worſhip, but by preſenting him an heart pure and blameleſs, and by adoring him with an unfeigned and profound veneration.

Sentiments ſo ſublime and religious were the reſult of the reflections of the few who employed themſelves in the ſtudy of the heart of man, and in tracing him in the firſt principles of his inſtitution, of which they ſtill retained ſome happy, though imperfect ideas. But the whole ſyſtem of their religion, the tendency of their public feaſts and ceremonies, the ſoul of the Pagan theology, of which the poets were the only teachers and profeſſors, the very examples of the gods, whoſe violent paſſions, ſcandalous adventures, and abominable crimes, were celebrated in their hymns or odes, and propoſed in ſome meaſure to the imitation, as well as adoration of the people; theſe were certainly very unfit means to enlighten the minds of men, and to form them to virtue and morality.

It is remarkable, that in the greateſt ſolemnities of the Pa-

* Sit hoc jam à principio perſuaſum civibus: dominos eſſe omnium rerum ac moderatores deos, eaque quæ geruntur eorum geri judicio ac numine; eoſdemque optimè de genere hominum mereri; et, qualis quiſque ſit, quid agat, quid in ſe admittat, qua mente, qua pietate religiones colat, intueri; piorumque et impiorum habere rationem.—Ad divos adeunto caſtè. Pietatem adhibento, opes amoventо. Cic. de leg. l. ii. n. 15, & 19.

gan

gan religion, and in their moſt ſacred and reverend myſteries, far from perceiving any thing to recommend virtue, piety, or the practice of the moſt eſſential duties of ordinary life, we find the authority of laws, the imperious power of cuſtom, the preſence of magiſtrates, the aſſembly of all orders of the ſtate, the example of fathers and mothers, all conſpire to train up a whole nation from their infancy in an impure and ſacrilegious worſhip, under the name, and in a manner under the ſanction of religion itſelf; as we ſhall ſoon ſee in the ſequel.

After theſe general reflections upon Paganiſm, it is time to proceed to a particular account of the religion of the Greeks. I ſhall reduce this ſubject, though infinite in itſelf, to four articles, which are, 1. The feaſts. 2. The oracles, augurs, and divinations. 3. The games and combats. 4. The public ſhews, and repreſentations of the theatre. In each of theſe articles, I ſhall treat only of what appears moſt worthy of the reader's curioſity, and has moſt relation to this hiſtory. I omit ſaying any thing of ſacrifices, having given a ſufficient idea of them elſewhere*.

Of the Feasts.

An infinite number of feaſts were celebrated in the ſeveral cities of Greece, and eſpecially at Athens, of which I ſhall only deſcribe three of the moſt famous, the Panathenea, the feaſt of Bacchus, and thoſe of Eleuſis.

THE PANATHENEA.

This feaſt was celebrated at Athens in honour of Minerva, the tutelary goddeſs of that city, to which ſhe gave her name†, as well as to the feaſt we ſpeak of. Its inſtitution was ancient, and it was called at firſt Athenea; but after Theſeus had united the ſeveral towns of Attica into one city, it took the name of Panathenea. Theſe feaſts were of two kinds, the great and the leſs, which were ſolemnized with almoſt the ſame ceremonies; the leſs annually, and the great upon the expiration of every fourth year.

In theſe feaſts were exhibited racing, the gymnaſtic combats, and the contentions for the prizes of muſic and poetry. Ten commiſſaries elected from the ten tribes preſided on this occaſion to regulate the forms, and diſtribute the rewards to the victors. This feſtival continued ſeveral days.

The firſt day, in the morning, a race was run on foot, each

* Manner of Teaching, &c. vol. i. † Ἀθήνη.

of the runners carrying a lighted torch in his hand, which they exchanged continually with each other without interrupting their race. They ſtarted from Ceramicus, one of the ſuburbs of Athens, and croſſed the whole city. The firſt that came to the goal, without having put out his torch, carried the prize. In the afternoon they ran the ſame courſe on horſeback.

The gymnaſtic or athletic combats followed the races. The place for that exerciſe was upon the banks of the Iliſſus, a ſmall river, which runs through Athens, and empties itſelf into the ſea at the Piræus.

Pericles inſtituted the prize of muſic. In this diſpute were ſung the praiſes of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, who delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Piſiſtratides; to which was afterwards added the eulogium of Thraſibulus, who expelled the thirty tyrants. Theſe diſputes were not only warm amongſt the muſicians, but much more ſo among the poets, and it was highly glorious to be declared victor in them. Æſchylus is reported to have died with grief upon ſeeing the prize adjudged to Sophocles, who was much younger than himſelf.

Theſe exerciſes were followed by a general proceſſion, wherein a ſail was carried with great pomp and ceremony, on which were curiouſly delineated the warlike actions of Pallas againſt the Titans and Giants. That ſail was affixed to a veſſel, which was called by the name of the goddeſs. The veſſel, equipped with ſails, and with a thouſand oars, was conducted from Ceramicus to the temple of Eleuſis, not by horſes or beaſts of draught, but by machines concealed in the bottom of it, which put the oars in motion, and made the veſſel glide along.

The march was ſolemn and majeſtic. At the head of it were old men, who carried olive branches in their hands, θαλλοφόροι; and theſe were choſen for the goodneſs of their ſhape, and the vigour of their complexion. Athenian matrons, of great age, alſo accompanied them in the ſame equipage.

The grown and robuſt men formed the ſecond claſs. They were armed at all points, and had bucklers and lances. After them came the ſtrangers that inhabited Athens, carrying mattocks, inſtruments proper for tillage. Next followed the Athenian women of the ſame age, attended by the foreigners of their own ſex, carrying veſſels in their hands for the drawing of water.

The

The third clafs was compofed of young perfons of both fexes, and of the beft families in the city. The youth wore veſts with crowns upon their heads, and ſang a peculiar hymn in honour of the goddeſs. The maids carried baſkets, in which were placed the ſacred utenſils proper to the ceremony, covered with veils to keep them from the ſight of the ſpectators. The perſon, to whoſe care thoſe ſacred things were intruſted, was to have obſerved an exact continence for ſeveral days before he touched them, or diſtributed them to the Athenian virgins*; or rather, as Demoſthenes ſays, his whole life and conduct ought to have been a perfect model of virtue and purity. It was an high honour to a young woman to be choſen for ſo noble and auguſt an office, and an inſupportable affront to be deemed unworthy of it. We have ſeen that Hipparchus treated the ſiſter of Harmodius with this indignity, which extremely incenſed the conſpirators againſt the Piſiſtratides. Theſe Athenian virgins were followed by the foreign young women, who carried umbrellas and ſeats for them.

The children of both ſexes cloſed the pomp of the proceſſion.

In this auguſt ceremony, the ῥαψῳδοὶ were appointed to ſing certain verſes of Homer; a manifeſt proof of their eſtimation for the works of that poet, even with regard to religion. Hipparchus, ſon of Piſiſtratus, firſt introduced that cuſtom.

I have obſerved elſewhere, that in the gymnaſtic games of this feaſt an herald proclaimed, that the people of Athens had conferred a crown of gold upon the celebrated phyſician Hippocrates, in gratitude for the ſignal ſervices which he had rendered the ſtate during the peſtilence.

In this feſtival the people of Athens put themſelves, and the whole republic, under the protection of Minerva, the tutelary goddeſs of their city, and implored of her all kind of proſperity. From the battle of Marathon, in theſe public acts of worſhip, expreſs mention was made of the Platæans, and they were joined in all things with the people of Athens.

FEASTS OF BACCHUS.

The worſhip of Bacchus had been brought out of Egypt to Athens, where ſeveral feaſts had been eſtabliſhed in honour of that god; two particularly more remarkable than all the reſt, called the great and the leſs feaſts of Bacchus. The latter were a kind of preparation for the former, and were cele-

* Οὐχὶ προειρημένον ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἁγνεύειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον ὅλον ἁγνευκέναι. Demoſt. in extrema Ariſtocratia.

brated

brated in the open field about autumn. They were named Lenea, from a Greek word* that ſignifies a wine-preſs. The great feaſts were commonly called Dionyſia, from one of the names of that god†, and were ſolemnized in the ſpring within the city.

In each of theſe feaſts the public were entertained with games, ſhews, and dramatic repreſentations, which were attended with a vaſt concourſe of people, and exceeding magnificence, as will be ſeen hereafter: at the ſame time the poets diſputed the prize of poetry, ſubmitting to the judgment of arbitrators, expreſsly choſen, their pieces, whether tragic or comic, which were then repreſented before the people.

Theſe feaſts continued many days. Thoſe who were initiated, mimicked whatever the poets had thought fit to feign of the god Bacchus. They covered themſelves with the ſkins of wild beaſts, carried a thyrſus in their hands, a kind of pike with ivy leaves twiſted round it. They had drums, horns, pipes, and other inſtruments proper to make a great noiſe; and wore upon their heads wreaths of ivy and vine branches, and of other trees ſacred to Bacchus. Some repreſented Silenus, ſome Pan, others the Satyrs, all dreſſed in ſuitable maſquerade. Many of them were mounted on aſſes; others dragged goats‡ along for ſacrifices. Men and women, ridiculouſly transformed in this manner, appeared night and day in public; and imitating drunkenneſs, and dancing with the moſt indecent poſtures, ran in throngs about the mountains and foreſts, ſcreaming and howling furiouſly; the women eſpecially ſeemed more outrageous than the men, and quite out of their ſenſes, in their furious§ tranſports invoking the god, whoſe feaſt they celebrated with loud cries—εὐοῖ Βάκχε, or ὦ Ἴακχε, or Ἰὲ Ἴακχε, or Ἰὼ Βάκχε.

This troop of Bacchanalians was followed by the virgins of the nobleſt families in the city, who were called κανηφόροι, from carrying baſkets on their heads, covered with vine and ivy leaves.

To theſe ceremonies others were added, obſcene to the laſt exceſs, and worthy of the god who could be honoured in ſuch a manner. The ſpectators were no ſchiſmatics: they gave into the prevailing humour, and were ſeized with the ſame frantic ſpirit. Nothing was ſeen but dancing, drunkenneſs,

* Ληνὸς. † Dionyſius.

‡ Goats were ſacrificed, becauſe they ſpoiled the vines.

§ From this fury of the Bacchanalians, theſe feaſts were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Orgia. Ὀργὴ, ira, furor.

debauchery,

debauchery, and all that the moſt abandoned licentiouſneſs could conceive of groſs and abominable. And this an entire people, reputed the wiſeſt of all Greece, not only ſuffered, but admired and practiſed. I ſay an entire people; for Plato*, ſpeaking of the Bacchanals, ſays, in direct terms, that he had ſeen the whole city of Athens drunk at once.

† Livy informs us, that this licentiouſneſs of the Bacchanalians having ſecretly crept into Rome, the moſt horrid diſorders were committed there under the cover of night; beſides which, all perſons, who were initiated into theſe impure and abominable myſteries, were obliged, under the moſt horrid imprecations, to keep them inviolably ſecret. The ſenate, being apprized of the affair, put a ſtop to thoſe ſacrilegious feaſts by the moſt ſevere penalties; and baniſhed the practiſers of them firſt from Rome, and afterwards from Italy. Theſe examples inform us‡, how far a miſtaken ſenſe of religion, that covers the greateſt crimes with the ſacred name of the Divinity, is capable of miſleading the mind of man.

THE FEAST OF ELEUSIS.

There is nothing in all the Pagan antiquity more celebrated than the feaſt of Ceres Eleuſina. The ceremonies of this feſtival were called, by way of eminence, *the myſteries*, from being, according to Pauſanias, as much above all others, as the gods are above men. Their origin and inſtitution are attributed to Ceres herſelf, who, in the reign of Erechtheus, coming to Eleuſis, a ſmall town of Attica, in ſearch of her daughter Proſerpine, whom Pluto had carried away, and finding the country afflicted with a famine, ſhe invented corn as a remedy for that evil, with which ſhe rewarded the inhabitants. § She not only taught them the uſe of corn, but inſtructed them in the principles of probity, charity, civility, and huma-

* Πάσαν ἐθεασάμην τὴν πόλιν περὶ τὰ Διονύσια μεθύουσαν. Lib. i. de leg. p. 637.

† Liv. l. xxxix. n. 8, 18.

‡ Nihil in ſpeciem fallacius eſt quam prava religio, ubi deorum numen prætenditur ſceleribus. Liv. xxxix. n. 16.

§ Multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenæ tuæ peperiſſe, atque in vitam hominum attuliſſe; tum nihil melius illis myſteriis, quibus ex agreſti immanique vita exculti ad humanitatem et mitigati ſumus, initiaque ut appellantur, ita re vera principia vitæ cognovimus. Cic. l. ii. de leg. n. 36.

Teque Ceres, et Libera, quarum ſacra, ſicut opiniones hominum ac religiones ferunt, longè maximis atque occultiſſimis ceremoniis continentur: à quibus initia vitæ atque victus, legum, morum, manſuetudinis, humanitatis exempla hominibus et civitatibus data ac diſpertita eſſe dicuntur. Id. Cic. in Verr. de ſupplic. n. 186.

nity;

nity; from whence her myſteries were called θεσμοφόρια, and *Initia*. To theſe firſt happy leſſons fabulous antiquity aſcribed the courteſy, politeneſs, and urbanity, ſo remarkable amongſt the Athenians.

Theſe myſteries were divided into the leſs and the greater; of which the former ſerved as a preparation for the latter. The leſs were ſolemnized in the month Antheſterion, which anſwers to our November; the great in the month Boedromion, or Auguſt. Only Athenians were admitted to theſe myſteries; but of them each ſex, age, and condition, had a right to be received. All ſtrangers were abſolutely excluded; ſo that Hercules, Caſtor, and Pollux, were obliged to be adopted by Athenians, in order to their admiſſion; which, however, extended only to the leſſer myſteries. I ſhall conſider principally the great, which were celebrated at Eleuſis.

Thoſe who demanded to be initiated into them, were obliged, before the reception, to purify themſelves in the leſſer myſteries, by bathing in the river Iliſſus, by ſaying certain prayers, offering ſacrifices, and, above all, by living in ſtrict continence during an interval of time preſcribed them. That time was employed in inſtructing them in the principles and elements of the ſacred doctrine of the great myſteries.

When the time for their initiation arrived, they were brought into the temple; and, to inſpire the greater reverence and terror, the ceremony was performed in the night. Wonderful things paſſed upon this occaſion. Viſions were ſeen, and voices heard of an extraordinary kind. A ſudden ſplendour diſpelled the darkneſs of the place, and, diſappearing immediately, added new horrors to the gloom. Apparitions, claps of thunder, earthquakes, improved the terror and amazement; whilſt the perſon admitted, ſtupid, ſweating through fear, heard trembling the myſterious volumes read to him, if in ſuch a condition he was capable of hearing at all. Theſe nocturnal rites were attended with many diſorders, which the ſevere law of ſilence, impoſed on the perſons initiated, prevented from coming to light, as St. Gregory Nazianzen obſerves *. What cannot ſuperſtition effect upon the mind of man, when once his imagination is heated? The preſident in this ceremony was called Hierophantes. He wore a peculiar habit, and was not admitted to marry. The firſt who ſerved in this function, and whom Ceres herſelf inſtructed, was Eumolpus; from whom

* Οἶδεν Ἐλευσὶν ταῦτα, καὶ οἱ τῶν σιωπωμένων καὶ σιωπῆς ὄντων ἀξίων ἐπόπται. Orat. de ſacr. lumin.

his

his ſucceſſors were called Eumolpides. He had three colleagues; * one who carried a torch; another an herald †, whoſe office was to pronounce certain myſterious words; and a third to attend at the altar.

Beſides theſe officers, one of the principal magiſtrates of the city was appointed to take care that all the ceremonies of this feaſt were exactly obſerved. He was called the king ‡, and was one of the nine Archons. His buſineſs was to offer prayers and ſacrifices. The people gave him four aſſiſtants §, one choſen from the family of the Eumolpides, a ſecond from that of the Cerycians, and the two laſt from two other families. He had, beſides, ten other miniſters to aſſiſt him in the diſcharge of his duty, and particularly in offering ſacrifices, from whence they derived their name ‖.

The Athenians initiated their children of both ſexes very early into theſe myſteries, and would have thought it criminal to have let them die without ſuch an advantage. It was their general opinion, that this ceremony was an engagement to lead a more virtuous and regular life; that it recommended them to the peculiar protection of the godeſſes, to whoſe ſervice they devoted themſelves; and was the means to a more perfect and certain happineſs in the other world: Whilſt on the contrary, ſuch as had not been initiated, beſides the evils they had to apprehend in this life, were doomed, after their deſcent to the ſhades below, to wallow eternally in dirt, filth, and excrement. ** Diogenes the Cynic believed nothing of the matter, and when his friends endeavoured to perſuade him to avoid ſuch a misfortune, by being initiated before his death—"What," ſaid he, "ſhall Ageſilaus and Epaminondas lie amongſt mud and "dung, whilſt the vileſt Athenians, becauſe they have been "initiated, poſſeſs the moſt diſtinguiſhed places in the regions "of the bleſſed?" Socrates was not more credulous; he would not be initiated into theſe myſteries, which was perhaps one reaſon that rendered his religion ſuſpected.

†† Without this qualification none were admitted to enter the temple of Ceres; and Livy informs us of two Acarnanians, who, having followed the crowd into it upon one of the feaſtdays, although out of miſtake and with no ill deſign, were both put to death without mercy. It was alſo a capital crime to divulge the ſecrets and myſteries of this feaſt. Upon this account Diagoras the Melian was proſcribed, and had a reward ſet upon his head. He intended to have made the ſecret coſt

* Δαδοῦχος. † Κῆρυξ. ‡ Βασιλεὺς. § Ἐπιμεληταὶ. ‖ Ἱεροποιοὶ.
** Diogen. Laert. l. vi. p. 389. †† Liv. l. 31. n. 14.

the

the poet Æchylus his life, from ſpeaking too freely of it in ſome of his tragedies. The diſgrace of Alcibiades proceeded from the ſame cauſe. *Whoever had violated the ſecret, was avoided as a wretch accurſed and excommunicated. † Pauſanias in ſeveral paſſages, wherein he mentions the temple of Eleuſis, and the ceremonies practiſed there, ſtops ſhort, and declares he cannot proceed, becauſe he had been forbid by a dream or viſion.

This feaſt, the moſt celebrated of profane antiquity, was of nine days continuance. It began the fifteenth of the month Boedromion. After ſome previous ceremonies and ſacrifices on the firſt three days, upon the fourth in the evening began the proceſſion of the *Baſket;* which was laid upon an open chariot ſlowly drawn by oxen‡, and followed by great numbers of the Athenian women. They all carried myſterious baſkets in their hands, filled with ſeveral things, which they took great care to conceal, and covered with a veil of purple. This ceremony repreſented the baſket into which Proſerpine put the flowers ſhe was gathering when Pluto ſeized and carried her off.

The fifth day was called the day of the *Torches;* becauſe at night the men and women ran about with them in imitation of Ceres, who having lighted a torch at the fire of mount Ætna, wandered about from place to place in ſearch of her daughter.

The ſixth was the moſt famous day of all. It was called Iacchus, the name of Bacchus, ſon of Jupiter and Ceres, whoſe ſtatue was then brought out with great ceremony, crowned with myrtle, and holding a torch in its hand. The proceſſion began at Ceramicus, and paſſing through the principal places of the city, continued to Eleuſis. The way leading to it was called *the ſacred way*, and lay acroſs a bridge over the river Cephiſus. This proceſſion was very numerous, and generally conſiſted of thirty thouſand perſons. § The temple of Eleuſis, where it ended, was large enough to contain

* Eſt et fideli tuta ſilentio
Merces: vetabo, qui Cereris ſacrum
Vulgarit arcanæ, ſub iſdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum
Solvat phaſelum.———— HOR. OD. II. l. iii.

† Lib. i. p. 26, &.

‡ Tardaque Eleuſinae matris volventia plauſtra.
VIRG. GEOR. lib. i. ver. 163.

§ Her. l. viii. c. 65. l. ix. p. 395.

the

the whole multitude; and Strabo says its extent was equal to that of the theatres, which every body knows were capable of holding a much greater number of people. The whole way resounded with the sound of trumpets, clarions, and other musical instruments. Hymns were sung in honour of the goddesses, accompanied with dancing, and other extraordinary marks of rejoicing. The route before mentioned, through the sacred way and over the Cephisus, was the usual way: But after the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponnesian war had fortified Decilia, the Athenians were obliged to make their procession by sea, till Alcibiades re-established the ancient custom.

The seventh day was solemnized by games, and the gymnastic combats, in which the victor was rewarded with a measure of barley; without doubt, because it was at Eleusis the goddess first taught the method of raising that grain, and the use of it. The two following days were employed in some particular ceremonies, neither important nor remarkable.

During this festival it was prohibited, under very great penalties, to arrest any person whatsoever, in order to their being imprisoned, or to present any bill of complaint to the judges. It was regularly celebrated every fifth year, that is, after a revolution of four years; and no history observes that it was ever interrupted, except upon the taking of Thebes by Alexander the Great*. The Athenians, who were then upon the point of celebrating the great mysteries, were so much affected with the ruin of that city, that they could not resolve in so general an affliction to solemnize a festival, which breathed nothing but merriment and rejoicing†. It was continued down to the time of the Christian emperors; and Valentinian would have abolished it, if Prætextatus, the proconsul of Greece, had not represented, in the most lively and affecting terms, the universal sorrow which the abrogation of that feast would occasion among the people; upon which it was suffered to subsist. It is supposed to have been finally suppressed by Theodosius the Great; as were all the rest of the Pagan solemnities.

Of Augurs, Oracles, &c.

Nothing is more frequently mentioned in ancient history, than oracles, augurs, and divinations. No war was made, or colony settled, nothing of consequence was undertaken, either public or private, without the gods being first consulted. This was a custom universally established amongst the Egyp-

* Plut. in vit. Alex p. 671. † Zosim. hist. l. iv.

tian, Aſſyrian, Grecian, and Roman nations; which is no doubt a proof, as has been already obſerved, of its being derived from ancient tradition, and that it had its origin in the religion and worſhip of the true God. It is not indeed to be queſtioned, but that God, before the deluge, did manifeſt his will to mankind in different methods, as he has ſince done to his people, ſometimes in his own perſon and *vivâ voce*, ſometimes by the miniſtry of angels or of prophets inſpired by himſelf, and at other times by apparitions or in dreams. When the deſcendants of Noah diſperſed themſelves into different regions, they carried this tradition along with them, which was every-where retained, though altered and corrupted by the darkneſs and ignorance of idolatry. None of the ancients have inſiſted more upon the neceſſity of conſulting the gods on all occaſions by augurs and oracles than Xenophon; and he founds that neceſſity, as I have more than once obſerved elſewhere, upon a principle deduced from the moſt refined reaſon and diſcernment. He repreſents, in ſeveral places, that man of himſelf is very frequently ignorant of what is advantageous or pernicious to him; that, far from being capable of penetrating the future, the preſent itſelf eſcapes him, ſo narrow and ſhort-ſighted is he in all his views; that the ſlighteſt obſtacles can fruſtrate his greateſt deſigns; that only the divinity, to whom all ages are preſent, can impart a certain knowledge of the future to him; that no other being has power to facilitate the ſucceſs of his enterprizes; and that it is reaſonable to believe he will guide and protect thoſe, who adore him with the pureſt affection, who invoke him at all times with the greateſt conſtancy and fidelity, and conſult him with moſt ſincerity and reſignation.

OF AUGURS.

What a reproach is it to human reaſon, that ſo bright and luminous a principle ſhould have given birth to the abſurd reaſonings and wretched notions in favour of the ſcience of augurs and ſoothſayers, and been the occaſion of eſpouſing with blind devotion the moſt ridiculous puerilities: To make the moſt important affairs of ſtate depend upon a bird's happening to ſing upon the right or left hand; upon the greedineſs of chickens in pecking their grain; the inſpection of the entrails of beaſts; the liver's being entire and in good condition, which, according to them, did ſometimes entirely diſappear, without leaving any trace or mark of its having ever ſubſiſted! To theſe ſuperſtitious obſervances may be added, accidental rencounters, words ſpoken by chance, and afterwards turned into good or bad

bad preſages, forebodings, prodigies, monſters, eclipſes, comets, every extraordinary phenomenon, every unforeſeen accident, with an infinity of chimeras of the like nature.

Whence could it happen, that ſo many great men, illuſtrious generals, able politicians, and even learned philoſophers, have actually given into ſuch abſurd imaginations? Plutarch, in particular, ſo eſtimable in other reſpects, is to be pitied for his ſervile obſervance of the ſenſeleſs cuſtoms of the Pagan idolatry, and his ridiculous credulity in dreams, ſigns, and prodigies. He tells us ſomewhere, that he abſtained a great while from eating eggs upon account of a dream, with which he has not thought fit to make us further acquainted.

The wiſeſt of the Pagans did not want a juſt ſenſe of the art of divination, and often ſpoke of it to each other, and even in public, with the utmoſt contempt, and in a manner ſufficiently expreſſive of its ridicule. The grave cenſor, Cato, was of opinion, that one ſoothſayer could not look at another without laughing. Hannibal was amazed at the ſimplicity of Pruſias, whom he had adviſed to give battle, upon his being diverted from it by the inſpection of the entrails of a victim.—"What," ſaid he, "have you more confidence in the liver of "a beaſt, than in ſo old and experienced a captain as I am?" Marcellus, who had been five times conſul, and was augur, ſaid, that he had diſcovered a method of not being put to a ſtand by the ſiniſter flight of birds, which was, to keep himſelf cloſe ſhut up in his litter.

Cicero explains himſelf upon augury without ambiguity or reſerve. No body was more capable of ſpeaking pertinently upon it than himſelf (as Mr. Morin obſerves in his diſſertation upon the ſame ſubject). As he was adopted into the college of augurs, he had made himſelf acquainted with the moſt concealed of their ſecrets, and had all poſſible opportunity of informing himſelf fully in their ſcience. That he did ſo, ſufficiently appears from the two books he has left us upon divination, in which it may be ſaid he has exhauſted the ſubject. In his ſecond, wherein he refutes his brother Quintus, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of the augurs, he diſputes and defeats his falſe reaſonings with a force, and at the ſame time with ſo refined and delicate a raillery, as leaves us nothing to wiſh; and he demonſtrates by proofs, that riſe upon each other in their force, the falſity, contrariety, and impoſſibility of that art*. But what

* Errabit multis in rebus antiquitas: quam vel uſu jam, vel doctrina, vel vetuſtate immutatem videmus. Retinetur autem et ad opinionem vulgi,

what is very ſurpriſing, in the midſt of all his arguments, he takes occaſion to blame the generals and magiſtrates, who, on important conjunctures, had contemned the prognoſtics; and maintains, that the uſe of them, as great an abuſe as it was in his own ſenſe, ought nevertheleſs to be reſpected out of regard to religion, and the prejudice of the people.

All that I have hitherto ſaid tends to prove, that Paganiſm was divided into two ſects, almoſt equally enemies of religion; the one by their ſuperſtitious and blind regard for the augurs, the other by their irreligious contempt and deriſion of them.

The principle of the firſt, founded on one ſide upon the ignorance and weakneſs of man in the affairs of life, and on the other upon the preſcience of the Divinity, and his almighty providence, was true; but the conſequence deduced from it, in regard to the augurs, falſe and abſurd. They ought to have proved that it was certain the Divinity himſelf had eſtabliſhed theſe external ſigns to denote his intentions, and that he had obliged himſelf to a punctual conformity to them upon all occaſions: But they had nothing of this kind in their ſyſtem. The augurs and ſoothſayers, therefore, were the effect and invention of the ignorance, raſhneſs, curioſity, and blind paſſions of man, who preſumed to interrogate God, and would oblige him to give anſwers upon his every idle imagination and unjuſt enterpriſe.

The others, who gave no real credit to any thing advanced by the ſcience of the augurs, did not fail however to obſerve their trivial ceremonies out of policy, for the better ſubjecting the minds of the people to themſelves, and to reconcile them to their own purpoſes by the aſſiſtance of ſuperſtition: But, by their contempt for the augurs, and the entire conviction of their falſity, they were led into a diſbelief of the divine providence, and to deſpiſe religion itſelf; conceiving it inſeparable from the numerous abſurdities of this kind, which rendered it ridiculous, and conſequently unworthy a man of ſenſe.

Both the one and the other behaved in this manner, becauſe, having miſtaken the creator, and abuſed the light of nature, which might have taught them to know and to adore him, they were deſervedly abandoned to their own darkneſs and abſurd opinions; and if we had not been enlightened by the true reli-

vulgi, et ad magnas utilitates reip. mos, religio, diſciplina, jus augurum, collegii auctoritas. Nec vero non omni ſupplicio digni P. Claudius, L. Junius conſules, qui contra auſpicia navigârunt. Parendum enim fuit religioni, nec patrius mos tam contumaciter repudiandus. Divin. l. ii. n. 70, 71.

gion,

gion, even at this day we might have given ourſelves up to the ſame ſuperſtitions.

OF ORACLES.

No country was ever richer in, or more productive of oracles, than Greece. I ſhall confine myſelf to thoſe which were the moſt noted.

The oracle of Dodona, a city of the Moloſſians, was much celebrated; where Jupiter gave anſwers either by vocal oaks*, or doves, which had alſo their language, or by reſounding baſons of braſs, or by the mouths of prieſts and prieſteſſes.

†The oracle of Trophonius in Bœotia, though he was only a ſimple hero, was in great reputation. After many preliminary ceremonies, as waſhing in the river, offering ſacrifices, drinking a water called Lethe, from its quality of making people forget every thing, the votaries went down into his cave by ſmall ladders through a very narrow paſſage. At the bottom was another little cavern, of which the entrance was alſo exceeding ſmall. There they lay down upon the ground, with a certain compoſition of honey in each hand, which they were indiſpenſably obliged to carry with them. Their feet were placed within the opening of the little cave; which was no ſooner done, than they perceived themſelves borne into it with great force and velocity. Futurity was there revealed to them; but not to all in the ſame manner. Some ſaw, others heard wonders. From thence they returned quite ſtupified, and out of their ſenſes, and were placed in the chair of Mnemoſyne, goddeſs of memory; not without great need of her aſſiſtance to recover their remembrance, after their great fatigue, of what they had ſeen and heard; admitting they had ſeen or heard any thing at all. Pauſanias, who had conſulted that oracle himſelf, and gone through all theſe ceremonies, has left a moſt ample deſcription of it; to which ‡ Plutarch adds ſome particular circumſtances, which I omit, to avoid a tedious prolixity.

§ The temple and oracle of the Branchidæ, in the neighbour-

* Certain inſtruments were faſtened to the tops of oaks, which, being ſhaken by the wind, or by ſome other means, rendered a confuſed ſound. Servius obſerves, that the ſame word in the Theſſalian language ſignifies DOVE and PROPHETESS, which had given room for the fabulous tradition of doves that ſpoke. It was eaſy to make thoſe brazen baſons ſound by ſome ſecret means, and to give what ſignification they pleaſed to a confuſed and inarticulate noiſe.

† Pauſan. l. ix. p. 902, 604.

‡ Plut. de gen. Socr. p. 590. § Herod. l. i. c. 157. Strab. l. xiv. p. 634.

hood of Miletus, ſo called from Branchus, the ſon of Apollo, was very ancient, and in great eſteem with all the Ionians and Dorians of Aſia. Xerxes, in his return from Greece, burnt this temple, after the prieſts had delivered its treaſures to him. That prince, in return, granted them an eſtabliſhment in the remoteſt parts of Aſia, to ſecure them againſt the vengeance of the Greeks. After the war was over, the Mileſians re-eſtabliſhed that temple with a magnificence, which, according to Strabo, ſurpaſſed that of all the other temples of Greece. When Alexander the Great had overthrown Darius, he utterly deſtroyed the city where the prieſts Branchidæ had ſettled, of which their deſcendants were at that time in actual poſſeſſion, puniſhing in the children the ſacrilegious perfidy of their fathers.

* Tacitus relates ſomething very ſingular, though not very probable, of the oracle of Claros, a town of Ionia, in Aſia Minor, near Colophon. "Germanicus," ſays he, "went to con-"ſult Apollo at Claros. It is not a woman that gives the "anſwers there as at Delphos, but a man choſe out of certain "familes, and almoſt always of Miletus. It ſuffices to let him "know the number and names of thoſe who come to conſult "him. After which he retires into a cave, and having drunk "of the waters of a ſpring within it, he delivers anſwers in "verſe upon what the perſons have in their thoughts, though "he is often ignorant, and knows nothing of compoſing in "meaſure. It is ſaid, that he foretold to Germanicus his ſud-"den death, but in dark and ambiguous terms, according to "the cuſtom of oracles."

I omit a great number of other oracles, to proceed to the moſt famous of them all. It is very obvious that I mean the oracle of Apollo at Delphos. He was worſhipped there under the name of the Pythian, derived from the ſerpent Python, which he had killed, or from a Greek word that ſignifies to inquire, πυθέσθαι, becauſe people came thither to conſult him. From thence the Delphic prieſteſs was called Pythia, and the games there celebrated the Pythian games.

Delphos was an ancient city of Phocis in Achaia. It ſtood upon the declivity, and about the middle of the mountain Parnaſſus, built upon a ſmall extent of even ground, and ſurrounded with precipices, that fortified it without the help of art. † Diodorus ſays, that there was a cavity upon Parnaſſus, from whence an exhalation roſe, which made the goats dance and

* Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 54. † Ibid. lib. xiv. p. 427, 428.

ſkip

ſkip about, and intoxicated the brain. A ſhepherd having approached it out of a deſire to know the cauſes of ſo extraordinary an effect, was immediately ſeized with violent agitations of body, and pronounced words, which, without doubt, he did not underſtand himſelf; however, they foretold futurity. Others made the ſame experiment, and it was ſoon rumoured throughout the neighbouring countries. The cavity was no longer approached without reverence. The exhalation was concluded to have ſomething divine in it. A prieſteſs was appointed for the reception of its effects, and a tripod placed upon the vent, called by the Latins Cortina, perhaps from the ſkin* that covered it. From thence ſhe gave her oracles. The city of Delphos roſe inſenſibly round about this cave, where a temple was erected, which at length became very magnificent. The reputation of this oracle almoſt effaced, or at leaſt very much exceeded, that of all others.

At firſt a ſingle Pythia ſufficed to anſwer thoſe who came to conſult the oracle, not yet amounting to any great number: But in proceſs of time, when it grew into univerſal repute, a ſecond was appointed to mount the tripod alternately with the firſt, and a third choſen to ſucceed in caſe of death or diſeaſe. There were other aſſiſtants beſides theſe to attend the Pythia in the ſanctuary, of whom the moſt conſiderable were called prophets†; it was their buſineſs to take care of the ſacrifices, and to make the inſpection into them. To theſe the demands of the inquirers were delivered either by word of mouth, or in writing, and they returned the anſwers, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

We muſt not confound the Pythia with the Sibyl of Delphos. The ancients repreſent the latter as a woman that roved from country to country, venting her predictions. She was at the ſame time the Sibyl of Delphos, Erythræ, Babylon, Cuma, and many other places, from her having reſided in them all.

The Pythia could not propheſy till ſhe was intoxicated by the exhalation from the ſanctuary. This miraculous vapour had not the effect at all times and upon all occaſions. The god was not always in the inſpiring humour. At firſt he imparted himſelf only once a year, but at length he was prevailed upon to viſit the Pythia every month. All days were not proper, and upon ſome it was not permitted to conſult the oracle. Theſe unfortunate days occaſioned an oracle's being given to

* Corium. † Προφῆται.

Alex-

Alexander the Great worthy of remark. He was at Delphos to conſult the god, at a time when the prieſteſs pretended it was forbid to aſk him any queſtions, and would not enter the temple. Alexander, who was always warm and tenacious, took hold of her by the arm to force her into it, when ſhe cried out, "My ſon, you are invincible!" Upon which words he would have no other oracle, and was contented with that he had received.

The Pythia, before ſhe aſcended the tripod, was a long time preparing for it by ſacrifices, purifications, a faſt of three days, and many other ceremonies. The god denoted his approach by the moving of a laurel that ſtood before the gate of the temple, which ſhook alſo to its very foundations.

As ſoon * as the divine vapour, like a penetrating fire, had diffuſed itſelf through the entrails of the prieſteſs, her hair ſtood upright upon her head, her looks grew wild and furious, ſhe foamed at the mouth, a ſudden and violent trembling ſeized her whole body, with all the † ſymptoms of diſtraction and frenzy. She uttered at intervals ſome words almoſt inarticulate, which the prophets carefully collected. After ſhe had been a certain time upon the tripod, ſhe was re-conducted to her cell, where ſhe generally continued many days, to recover herſelf of her fatigue; and, as Lucan ſays, a ſudden death was often either the reward or puniſhment of her enthuſiaſm:

* ——————————Cui talia fanti
Ante fores, ſubito non vultus, non color unus,
Non comptæ manſere comæ: ſed pectus anhelum
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri,
Nec mortale ſonans, afflata eſt numine quando
Jam propiore dei. VIRG. Æn. l. vi. v. 46—51.

† Among the various marks which God has given us in the ſcriptures to diſtinguiſh his oracles from thoſe of the devil, the fury or madneſs, attributed by Virgil to the Pythia, *et rabie fera corda tument*, is one. It is I, ſays God, that ſhew the falſehood of the diviner's predictions, and give to ſuch as divine, the motions of fury and madneſs; or, according to Iſa. xliv. 25. That fruſtrateth the tokens of the liar, and maketh diviners mad. Inſtead of which, the prophets of the true God conſtantly gave the divine anſwers in an equal and calm tone of voice, and with a noble tranquillity of behaviour. Another diſtinguiſhing mark is, the demons giving their oracles in ſecret places, by-ways, and in the obſcurity of caves; whereas God gave his in open day, and before all the world. I have not ſpoken in ſecret, in a dark place of the earth, Iſa. xlv. 19. I have not ſpoken in ſecret from the beginning. Iſa. xlviii. 16. So that God did not permit the devil to imitate his oracles without impoſing ſuch conditions upon him, as might diſtinguiſh betwen the true and falſe inſpiration.

Nummis

Nummis aut pœna eſt mors immatura recepti,
Aut pretium *.

The prophets had poets under them, who made the oracles into verſes, which were often bad enough, and gave occaſion to ſay, it was very ſurpriſing that Apollo, who preſided in the choir of the muſes, ſhould inſpire his propheteſs no better. But Plutarch informs us, that the god did not compoſe the verſes of the oracle. He inflamed the Pythia's imagination, and kindled in her ſoul that living light, which unveiled all futurity to her. The words ſhe uttered in the heat of her enthuſiaſm, having neither method nor connexion, and coming only by ſtarts, to uſe that expreſſion, † from the bottom of her ſtomach, or rather from her belly, were collected with care by the prophets, who gave them afterwards to the poets to be turned into verſe. Theſe Apollo left to their own genius and natural talents; as we may ſuppoſe he did the Pythia, when ſhe compoſed verſes, which, though not often, happened ſometimes. The ſubſtance of the oracle was inſpired by Apollo, the manner of expreſſing it was the prieſteſs's own: The oracles were, however, often given in proſe.

The general characteriſtics of oracles were ‡ ambiguity, obſcurity, and convertibility, to uſe that expreſſion, ſo that one anſwer would agree with ſeveral various, and ſometimes directly oppoſite, events. By the help of this artifice, the demons, who of themſelves are not capable of knowing futurity, concealed their ignorance, and amuſed the credulity of the Pagan world. When Crœſus was upon the point of invading the Medes, he conſulted the oracle of Delphos upon the ſucceſs of that war, and was anſwered, that by paſſing the river Halys, he would ruin a great empire. What empire? his own, or that of his enemies? He was to gueſs that; but, whatever the event might be, the oracle could not fail of being in the right. As much may be ſaid upon the ſame god's anſwer to Pyrrhus,

Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere poſſe.

I repeat it in Latin, becauſe the equivocality, which equally implies, that Pyrrhus could conquer the Romans, and the Romans Pyrrhus, will not ſubſiſt in a tranſlation. Under the cover of ſuch ambiguities, the god eluded all difficulties, and was never in the wrong.

* Lib. v. † Ἐγγαστρίμυθος.

‡ Quod ſi aliquis dixerit multa ab idolis eſſe prædicta; hoc ſciendum, quod ſemper mendacium junxerint veritati, et ſic ſententias temperârint, ut ſeu boni ſeu mali quid accidiſſet utrumque poſſit intelligi. Hieronym. c. xlii. If. He cites the two examples of Crœſus and Pyrrhus.

It

It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that ſometimes the anſwer of the oracle was clear and circumſtantial. I have repeated, in the hiſtory of Crœſus, the ſtratagem he made uſe of to aſſure himſelf of the veracity of the oracle, which was, to demand of it, by his ambaſſador, what he was doing at a certain time prefixed. The oracle of Delphos replied, that he was cauſing a tortoiſe and a lamb to be dreſſed in a veſſel of braſs, which was really ſo. *The emperor Trajan made a like proof upon the god at Heliopolis, by ſending him a letter † ſealed up, to which he demanded an anſwer. The oracle made no other return, than to command a blank paper, well folded and ſealed, to be delivered to him. Trajan, upon the receipt of it, was ſtruck with amazement to ſee an anſwer ſo correſpondent with his own letter, in which he knew he had wrote nothing. The wonderful facility‡ with which demons can transfer themſelves almoſt in an inſtant from place to place, made it not impoſſible for them to give the two related anſwers, and ſeem to foretel in one country, what they had ſeen in another; which is Tertullian's opinion.

Admitting it to be true, that ſome oracles have been followed preciſely by the events foretold, we may believe, that God, to puniſh the blind and ſacrilegious credulity of the Pagans, has ſometimes permitted the demons to have a knowledge of things to come, and to foretel them diſtinctly enough. Which conduct of God, though very much above human comprehenſion, is frequently atteſted in the holy ſcriptures.

It has been queſtioned, whether the oracles, mentioned in profane hiſtory, ſhould be aſcribed to the operations of demons, or only to the malignity and impoſture of men. Wandale, a Dutch phyſician, has maintained the latter; and Monſieur Fontenelle, when a young man, adopted that opinion, in the perſuaſion, to uſe his own words, that it was indifferent, as to the truth of Chriſtianity, whether the oracles were the effect of the agency of ſpirits, or a ſeries of impoſtures. Father Baltus, the Jeſuit, profeſſor of the holy ſcriptures in the univerſity of Straſburgh, has refuted them both in a very ſolid

* Macrob. l. i. Saturnal. c. xxiii.

† It was cuſtomary to conſult the oracle by ſealed letters, which were laid upon the altar of the god unopened.

‡ Omnis ſpiritus ales. Hoc et angeli et dæmones. Igitur momento ubique ſunt: totus orbis illis locus unus eſt: quid ubi geratur tam facile ſciunt, quam enuntiant. Velocitas divinitas creditur, quia ſubſtantia ignoratur. Cæterum teſtudinem decoqui cum carnibus pecudis Pythius eo modo renunciavit, quo ſupra diximus. Momento apud Lydiam fuerat. Tertul. in Apolog.

piece,

piece, wherein he demonſtrates invincibly, with the unanimous authority of the fathers, that the devils were the real agents in the oracles. He attacks, with equal force and ſucceſs, the raſhneſs and preſumption of the anabaptiſt phyſician, who, calling in queſtion the capacity and diſcernment of the holy doctors, abſurdly endeavours to efface the high idea all true believers have of thoſe great leaders of the church, and to depreciate their venerable authority, which is ſo great a difficulty to all who deviate from the principles of ancient tradition. And if that was ever certain and conſentaneous in any thing, it is ſo in this point; for all the fathers of the church, and eccleſiaſtical writers of all ages, maintain, and atteſt, that the devil was the author of idolatry in general, and of oracles in particular.

This opinion does not oppoſe the belief, that the prieſts and prieſteſſes were frequently guilty of fraud and impoſture in the anſwers of the oracles. For is not the devil the father and prince of lies?—In the Grecian hiſtory we have ſeen more than once the Delphic prieſteſs ſuffer herſelf to be corrupted by preſents. It was from that motive ſhe perſuaded the Lacædemonians to aſſiſt the people of Athens in the expulſion of the thirty tyrants; that ſhe cauſed Demaratus to be diveſted of the royal dignity to make way for Cleomenes; and dreſſed up an oracle to ſupport the impoſtor of Lyſander, when he endeavoured to change the ſucceſſion to the throne of Sparta. And I am apt to believe, that Themiſtocles, who well knew the importance of acting againſt the Perſians by ſea, inſpired the god with the anſwer he gave, "to defend themſelves with walls of wood*." Demoſthenes, convinced that the oracles were frequently ſuggeſted by paſſion or intereſt, and ſuſpecting, with reaſon, that Philip had inſtructed them to ſpeak in his favour, boldly declared, that the Pythia *philippized*, and bade the Athenians and Thebans remember, that Pericles and Epaminondas, inſtead of liſtening to, and amuſing themſelves with the frivolous anſwers of the oracle, thoſe idle bugbears of the baſe and cowardly, conſulted only reaſon in the choice and execution of their meaſures.

The ſame father Baltus examines with equal ſucceſs the ceſſation of oracles, a ſecond point in the diſpute. Mr. Wandale, to oppoſe with ſome advantage a truth ſo glorious to Jeſus Chriſt, the ſubverter of idolatry, had falſified the ſenſe of the fathers by making them ſay, "that oracles ceaſed preciſely at

* Plut. in Demoſth. p. 854.

"the

" the moment of Chriſt's Birth." The learned apologiſt for the fathers ſhews, that they all alledge oracles did not ceaſe till after our Saviour's birth, and the preaching of his goſpel; not on a ſudden, but in proportion to his ſalutary doctrines being known to mankind, and gaining ground in the world. This unanimous opinion of the fathers is confirmed by the unexceptionable evidence of great numbers of the Pagans, who agree with them as to the end of time when the oracles ceaſed.

What an honour to the Chriſtian religion was this ſilence, impoſed upon the oracles by the victory of Jeſus Chriſt? Every Chriſtian had this power. * Tertullian, in one of his apologies, challenges the Pagans to make the experiment, and conſents that a Chriſtian ſhould be put to death, if he did not oblige theſe givers of oracles to confeſs themſelves devils. † Lactantius informs us, that every Chriſtian could ſilence them by only the ſign of the croſs. And all the world knows, that when Julian the Apoſtate was at Daphne, a ſuburb of Antioch, to conſult Apollo, the god, notwithſtanding all the ſacrifices offered to him, continued mute, and only recovered his ſpeech to anſwer thoſe who inquired the cauſe of his ſilence, that they muſt aſcribe it to the interment of certain bodies in the neighbourhood. Thoſe were the bodies of Chriſtian martyrs, amongſt which was that of St. Babylas.

This triumph of the Chriſtian religion ought to give us a due ſenſe of our obligations to Jeſus Chriſt, and, at the ſame time, of the darkneſs to which all mankind were abandoned before his coming. We have ſeen, amongſt the Carthaginians, ‡fathers and mothers more cruel than wild beaſts, inhumanly giving up their children, and annually depopulating their cities, by deſtroying the moſt florid of their youth, in obedience to the bloody dictates of their oracles and falſe gods. The victims were choſen without any regard to rank, ſex, age, or condition. Such bloody executions were honoured with the name of ſacrifices, and deſigned to make the gods propitious. " What greater evil," cries Lactantius, " could they " inflict in their moſt violent diſpleaſure, than to deprive their

* Tertul. in Apolog. † Lib. de vera ſapient. c. xxvii.

‡ Tam barbaros, tam immanes fuiſſe homines, ut parricidium ſuum, id eſt tetrum atque execrabile humano generi ſacinus, ſacrificium vocarent. Cum teneras atque innocentes animas, quæ maximè eſt ætas parentibus dulcior, ſine ullo reſpectu pietatis extinguerunt, immanitatemque omnium beſtiarum, quæ tamen fœtus ſuos amant, feritate ſuperarent. O dementiam inſanabilem! Quid illis iſti dii amplius facere poſſent, ſi eſſent iratiſſimi quam faciunt propitii? Cum ſuos cultores parricidiis inquinant, orbitatibus mactant, humanis ſenſibus ſpoliant. Lactant. l. i. c. 21.

" adorers

"adorers of all ſenſe of humanity, to make them cut the "throats of their own children, and pollute their ſacrilegious "hands with ſuch execrable parricides!"

A thouſand frauds and impoſtures, openly detected at Delphos, and every-where elſe, had not opened men's eyes, nor in the leaſt diminiſhed the credit of the oracles, which ſubſiſted upwards of two thouſand years, and was carried to an inconceivable height, even in the ſenſe of the greateſt men, the moſt profound philoſophers, the moſt powerful princes, and generally among the moſt civilized nations, and ſuch as valued themſelves moſt upon their wiſdom and policy. The eſtimation they were in may be judged from the magnificence of the temple of Delphos, and the immenſe riches amaſſed in it through the ſuperſtitious credulity of nations and monarchs.

* The temple of Delphos having been burnt about the fifty-eighth Olympiad, the Amphyctions, thoſe celebrated judges of Greece, took upon themſelves the care of rebuilding it. They agreed with an architect for three hundred talents, which amounts to nine hundred thouſand livres. The cities of Greece were to furniſh that ſum. The inhabitants of Delphos were taxed a fourth part of it, and made gatherings in all parts, even in foreign nations, for that ſervice. Amaſis, at that time king of Egypt, and the Grecian inhabitants of his country, contributed conſiderable ſums towards it. The Alcmeonides, a potent family of Athens, were charged with the conduct of the building, and made it more magnificent by conſiderable additions of their own than had been propoſed in the model.

Gyges, king of Lydia, and Crœſus, one of his ſucceſſors, enriched the temple of Delphos with an incredible number of preſents. Many other princes, cities, and private perſons, by their example, in a kind of emulation of each other, had heaped up in it tripods, veſſels, tables, ſhields, crowns, chariots, and ſtatues of gold and ſilver of all ſizes, equally infinite in number and value. The preſents of gold, which Crœſus only made to this temple, amounted, according to Herodotus†, to upwards of two hundred and fifty-four talents; that is, about ſeven hundred and ſixty-two thouſand French livres‡; and perhaps of thoſe of ſilver to as much. Moſt of theſe preſents were in being in the time of Herodotus. ‡Diodorus Siculus, adding thoſe of other princes to them, makes their amount ten thouſand talents, or thirty millions of livres§.

* Herod. l. ii. c. 180. & l. v. c. 62.
† Ibid. l. i. c. 50, 51.
‡ About L.33,500. || Diod. l. xvi. p. 453. § About L.1,300,000.

*Among the ſtatues of gold, conſecrated by Crœſus in the temple of Delphos, was placed that of a female baker, of which this was the occaſion. Alyattus, Crœſus's father, having married a ſecond wife, by whom he had children, ſhe contrived to get rid of her ſon-in-law, that the crown might deſcend to her own iſſue. For this purpoſe ſhe engaged the female baker to put poiſon into a loaf, that was to be ſerved at the young prince's table. The woman, who was ſtruck with horror at the crime, in which ſhe ought to have had no part at all, gave Crœſus notice of it. The poiſoned loaf was ſerved to the queen's own children, and their death ſecured the crown to the lawful ſucceſſor. When he aſcended the throne, in gratitude to his benefactreſs, he erected a ſtatue to her in the temple of Delphos. But may we conclude that a perſon of ſo mean a condition could deſerve ſo great an honour? Plutarch anſwers in the affirmative, and with a much better title, he ſays, than many of the ſo much vaunted conquerors and heroes, who have acquired their fame only by murder and devaſtation.

It is not to be wondered, that ſuch immenſe riches ſhould tempt the avarice of mankind, and expoſe Delphos to being frequently pillaged. Without mentioning more ancient times, Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a million of men, endeavoured to ſeize upon the ſpoils of the temple. Above an hundred years after, the Phoceans, near neighbours of Delphos, plundered it at ſeveral times. The ſame rich booty was the ſole motive of the irruption of the Gauls into Greece under Brennus. The guardian god of Delphos, if we may believe hiſtorians, ſometimes defended this temple by ſurpriſing prodigies; and at others, either from incapacity or confuſion, ſuffered himſelf to be plundered. When Nero made this temple, ſo famous throughout the univerſe, a viſit, and found in it five hundred fine braſs ſtatues of illuſtrious men and gods to his liking, which had been conſecrated to Apollo, (more of gold and ſilver having undoubtedly diſappeared upon his approach) he ordered them to be taken down, and, ſhipping them on board his veſſels, carried them with him to Rome.

Thoſe who would be more particularly informed concerning the oracles and riches of the temple of Delphos, may conſult ſome diſſertations upon them, printed in the Memoirs of the academy of *Belles Lettres*†; of which I have made good uſe, according to my cuſtom.

* Plut. de Pyth. orac. p. 401. † Vol. iii.

Of

Of the Games and Combats.

Games and combats made a part of the religion, and had a ſhare in almoſt all the feſtivals of the ancients; and for that reaſon it is proper to treat of them in this place. Whether we conſider their origin, or the deſign of their inſtitution, we ſhall not be ſurpriſed at their being ſo much practiſed in the beſt-governed ſtates.

Hercules, Theſeus, Caſtor, and Pollux, and the greateſt heroes of antiquity, were not only the inſtitutors or reſtorers of them, but thought it glorious to ſhare in the exerciſe of them, and meritorious to ſucceed therein. The ſubduers of monſters, and of the common enemies of mankind, thought it no diſgrace to them, to aſpire at the victories in theſe combats; nor that the new wreaths, with which their brows were encircled in the ſolemnization of theſe games, took any luſtre from thoſe they had before acquired. Hence the moſt famous poets made theſe combats the ſubject of their verſes; the beauty of whoſe poetry, whilſt it immortalized themſelves, ſeemed to promiſe an eternity of fame to thoſe whoſe victories it ſo divinely celebrated. Hence aroſe that uncommon ardour, which animated all Greece, to imitate the ancient heroes, and, like them, to ſignalize themſelves in the public combats.

A reaſon more ſolid, which reſults from the nature of theſe combats, and of the people who uſed them, may be given for their prevalence. The Greeks, by nature warlike, and equally intent upon forming the bodies and minds of their youth, introduced theſe exerciſes, and annexed honours to them, in order to prepare the younger ſort for the profeſſion of arms, to confirm their health, to render them ſtronger and more robuſt, to inure them to fatigues, and to make them intrepid in cloſe fight, in which (the uſe of fire-arms being then unknown) the ſtrength of body generally decided the victory. Theſe athletic exerciſes ſupplied the place of thoſe in uſe amongſt our nobility, as dancing, fencing, riding the great horſe, &c. but they did not confine themſelves to a graceful mien, nor to the beauties of a ſhape and face; they were for joining ſtrength to the charms of perſon.

It is true, theſe exerciſes, ſo illuſtrious by their founders, and ſo uſeful in the ends at firſt propoſed from them, introduced public maſters, who taught them to young perſons, and practiſing them with ſucceſs, made public ſhew and oſtentation of their ſkill. This ſort of men applied themſelves ſolely to the practice of this art, and carrying it to an exceſs, they formed it into a kind of ſcience, by the addition of rules and refinements,

often challenging each other out of a vain emulation, till at length they degenerated into a profeſſion of people, who, without any other employment, or merit, exhibited themſelves as a ſight for the diverſion of the public. Our dancing-maſters are not unlike them in this reſpect, whoſe natural and original deſignation was to teach youth a graceful manner of walking, and a good addreſs; but now we ſee them mount the ſtage, and perform ballets in the garb of comedians, capering, jumping, ſkipping, and making variety of ſtrange unnatural motions. We ſhall ſee, in the ſequel, what opinion the ancients had of their profeſſed combatants and wreſtling-maſters.

There were four kinds of games ſolemnized in Greece. The *Olympic*, ſo called from Olympia, otherwiſe Piſa, a town of Elis in Peleponneſus; near which they were celebrated after the expiration of every four years, in honour of Jupiter Olympicus. The *Pythic*, ſacred to Apollo Pythius*, ſo called from the ſerpent Python, killed by him; they were alſo celebrated every four years. The *Næmæan*, which took their name from Nemæa, a city and foreſt of Peleponneſus, and were either inſtituted or reſtored by Hercules, after he had ſlain the lion of the Nemæan foreſt; they were ſolemnized every two years. And laſtly, the *Iſthmian*; celebrated upon the iſthmus of Corinth, from four years to four years, in honour of Neptune. † Theſeus was the reſtorer of them, and they continued even after the ruin of Corinth. That perſons might be preſent at theſe public ſports with greater quiet and ſecurity, there was a general ſuſpenſion of arms and ceſſation of hoſtilities throughout all Greece, during the time of their celebration.

In theſe games, which were ſolemnized with incredible magnificence, and drew together a prodigious concourſe of ſpectators from all parts, a ſimple wreath was all the reward of the victors. In the Olympic games it was compoſed of wild olive; in the Pythic, of laurel; in the Nemæan, of green parſley‡; and in the Iſthmian, of the ſame herb. The inſtitutors of theſe games implied from thence, that honour only, and not mean and ſordid intereſt, ought to be the motive of great actions. Of what were men not capable, accuſtomed to act ſolely from ſo glorious a principle‖! We have ſeen in the Perſian war, that Tigranes, one of the moſt conſiderable captains in the army of Xerxes, having heard the prizes in the Grecian games deſcribed, cried out with aſtoniſhment, addreſſing himſelf to Mardo-

* Several reaſons are given for this name.
† Pauſ. l. ii. p. 88. ‡ Apium. ‖ Herod. l. viii. c. 88.

nius,

nius, who commanded in chief, " * Heavens! againſt what men " are you leading us? Inſenſible to intereſt, they combat only " for glory!" Which exclamation, though looked upon by Xerxes as an effect of abject fear, abounds with ſenſe and judgment.

† It was from the ſame principle that the Romans, whilſt they beſtowed upon other occaſions crowns of gold of great value, perſiſted always in giving only a wreath of oaken leaves to him who ſaved the life of a citizen. " Oh manners, worthy of " eternal remembrance!" cries Pliny, in relating this laudable cuſtom. " O grandeur, truly Roman, that would aſſign " no other reward but honour, for the preſervation of a citizen! " a ſervice, indeed, above all reward; thereby ſufficiently ar- " guing it their opinion, that it was criminal to ſave a man's " life from the motive of lucre and intereſt!" *O mores æternos, qui tanta opera honore ſolo donaverint; et cum reliquas coronas auro commendarent, ſalutem civis in pretio eſſe noluerint, clara profeſſione ſervari quidem hominem nefas eſſe lucri cauſa!*

Amongſt all the Grecian games, the Olympic held undeniably the firſt rank, and that for three reaſons. They were ſacred to Jupiter, the greateſt of the gods; inſtituted by Hercules, the firſt of the heroes; and celebrated with more pomp and magnificence, amidſt a greater concourſe of ſpectators from all parts, than any of the reſt.

‡ If Pauſanias may be believed, women were prohibited to be preſent at them upon pain of death; and during their continuance, it was ordained, that no woman ſhould approach the place where the games were celebrated, or paſs on that ſide of the river Alpheus. One only was ſo bold as to violate this law, and ſlipped in diſguiſe amongſt the combatants. She was tried for the offence, and would have ſuffered for it, according to the law, if the judges, in regard to her father, her brother, and her ſon, who had all been victors in the Olympic games, had not pardoned her offence, and ſaved her life.

This law was very conformable with the Grecian manners, amongſt whom the ladies were very reſerved, ſeldom appeared in public, had ſeparate apartments, called *Gynæcea*, and never ate at table with the men when ſtrangers were preſent. It was certainly inconſiſtent with decency to admit them at ſome of

* Πατραὶ, Μαρδόνιε, κόινους ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἠγαγες μαχησομένους, ἡμᾶς, οἱ ὰ περὶ χρημάων τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῦνται, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετης.

† Plin. l. xvi. c. 4. ‡ Pauſan. l. v. p. 297.

the games, as thoſe of wreſtling, and the pancratium, in which the combatants fought naked.

* The ſame Pauſanias tells us in another place, that the prieſteſs of Ceres had an honourable ſeat in theſe games, and that virgins were not denied the liberty of being preſent at them. For my part, I cannot conceive the reaſon of ſuch inconſiſtency, which indeed ſeems incredible.

The Greeks thought nothing comparable to the victory in theſe games. They looked upon it as the perfection of glory, and did not believe it permitted to mortals to deſire any thing beyond it. † Cicero aſſures us, that with them it was no leſs honourable than the conſular dignity in its original ſplendor with the ancient Romans. And in another place he ſays, that ‡ to conquer at Olympia was almoſt, in the ſenſe of the Grecians, more great and glorious than to receive the honour of a triumph at Rome. Horace ſpeaks in ſtill ſtronger terms upon this kind of victory. ‖ He is not afraid to ſay, that "it "exalts the victor above human nature; they were no longer "men but gods."

We ſhall ſee hereafter what extraordinary honours were paid to the victor, of which one of the moſt affecting was, to date the year with his name. Nothing could more effectually enliven their endeavours, and make them regardleſs of expences, than the aſſurance of immortalizing their names, which, for the future, would be annexed to the calendar, and in the front of all laws made in the ſame year with the victor. To this motive may be added, the joy of knowing, that their praiſes would be celebrated by the moſt famous poets, and ſhare in the entertainment of the moſt illuſtrious aſſemblies; for theſe odes were ſung in every houſe, and had a part in every entertainment. What could be a more powerful incentive to a people, who had no other object and aim than that of human glory?

I ſhall confine myſelf upon this head to the Olympic games, which continued five days; and ſhall deſcribe, in as brief a

* Pauſan. l. vi. p. 382.

† Olympiorum victoria, Græcis conſulatus ille antiquus videbatur. Tuſcul. Queſt. lib. ii. n. 41.

‡ Olympionicam eſſe apud Græcos prope majus fuit et gloriоſus, quam Romæ triumphaſſe. Pro Flacco. num. xxxi.

‖ ——————Palmaque nobilis
Terrarum dominos evehit ad deos. Hor. Od. i. lib. 1.

Sive quos Elea domum reducit
Palma cœleſtes. Hor. Od. ii. lib. 4.

manner

manner as poſſible, the ſeveral kinds of combats of which they were compoſed. Mr. Burette has treated this ſubject in ſeveral diſſertations, printed in the memoirs of the academy of *Belles Lettres;* wherein purity, perſpicuity, and elegance of ſtile are united with profound erudition. I make no ſcruple in appropriating to my uſe the riches of my brethren; and, upon the ſubject of the Olympic games, have made very free with the late Abbé Maſſieu's remarks upon the Odes of Pindar.

The combats, which had the greateſt ſhare in the ſolemnity of the public games, were boxing, wreſtling, the pancratium, the diſcus or quoit, and racing. To theſe may be added the exerciſes of leaping, throwing the dart, and that of the trochus or wheel; but as theſe were neither important, nor of any great reputation, I ſhall content myſelf with having only mentioned them in this place. For the better methodizing the particulars of theſe games and exerciſes, it will be neceſſary to begin with an account of the Athletæ, or Combatants.

OF THE ATHLETÆ, OR COMBATANTS.

The term Athletæ is derived from the Greek word ἆθλος, which ſignifies labour, combat. This name was given to thoſe who exerciſed themſelves with deſign to diſpute the prizes in the public games. The art by which they formed themſelves for theſe encounters, was called Gymnaſtic, from the Athletæ's practiſing naked.

Thoſe who were deſigned for this profeſſion frequented, from their moſt tender age, the Gymnaſia or Palæſtræ, which were a kind of academies maintained for that purpoſe at the public expence. In theſe places, ſuch young people were under the direction of different maſters, who employed the moſt effectual methods to inure their bodies for the fatigues of the public games, and to form them for the combats. The regimen they were under was very hard and ſevere. At firſt they had no other nouriſhment but dried figs, nuts, ſoft cheeſe, and a groſs heavy ſort of bread, called μάζα. They were abſolutely forbid the uſe of wine, and enjoined continence; which Horace expreſſes thus*:

> Qui ſtudet optatam curſu contingere metam
> Multa tulit fecitque puer; ſudavit et alſit;
> Abſtinuit Venere et vino.

St. Paul, by an alluſion to the Athletæ, exhorts the Corinthians, near whoſe city the Iſthmian games were celebrated, to

* Art. Poet. v. 412.

a ſober

a ſober and penitent life. " Thoſe who ſtrive," ſays he, " for " the maſtery, are temperate in all things: now they do it " to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible." * Tertullian uſes the ſame thought to encourage the martyrs. He makes a compariſon from what the hopes of victory made the Athletæ endure. He repeats the ſevere and painful exerciſes they were obliged to undergo; the continual anguiſh and conſtraint, in which they paſſed the beſt years of their lives; and the voluntary privation which they impoſed upon themſelves, of all that was moſt affecting and grateful to the paſſions. It is true, the Athletæ did not always obſerve ſo ſevere a regimen, but at length ſubſtituted in its ſtead a voracity and indolence extremely remote from it.

The Athletæ, before their exerciſes, were rubbed with oils and ointments, to make their bodies more ſupple and vigorous. At firſt they made uſe of a belt, with an apron or ſcarf faſtened to it, for their more decent appearance in the combats; but one of the combatants happening to loſe the victory by this covering's falling off, that accident was the occaſion of ſacrificing modeſty to convenience, and retrenching the apron for the future: but the Athletæ were only naked in ſome exerciſes, as wreſtling, boxing, the pancratium, and the foot-race. They practiſed a kind of noviciate in the Gymnaſia for ten months, to accompliſh themſelves in the ſeveral exerciſes by aſſiduous application; and this they did in the preſence of ſuch as curioſity or idleneſs conducted to look on. But when the celebration of the Olympic games drew nigh, the Athletæ, who were to appear in them, were kept at double exerciſe.

Before they were admitted to combat, other proofs were required: as to birth, none but Greeks were to be received. It was alſo neceſſary, that their manners ſhould be unexceptionable, and their condition free. No ſtranger was admitted to combat in the Olympic games; and when Alexander, the ſon of Amyntas, king of Macedon, preſented himſelf to diſpute the prize, his competitors, without any regard to the royal dignity, oppoſed his reception as a Macedonian, and conſequently a Barbarian and a ſtranger; nor could the judges be prevailed upon to admit him, till he had proved, in due form, his family originally deſcended from the Argives.

The perſons who preſided in the games, called *Agonotheta*,

* Nempe enim et Athletæ ſegregantur ad ſtrictiorem diſciplinam, ut robori ædificando vacent; continentur à luxuria, à cibis lætioribus, à potu jucundiore; coguntur, cruciantur, fatigantur. Tertul. ad Martyr.

Athlothetæ,

Athlothetæ, and *Hellanodicæ*, regiſtered the name and country of each champion; and upon the opening of the games an herald proclaimed the names of the combatants. They were then made to take an oath, that they would religiouſly obſerve the ſeveral laws preſcribed in each kind of combat, and do nothing contrary to the eſtabliſhed orders and regulations of the games. Fraud, artifice, and exceſſive violence, were abſolutely prohibited; and the maxim, ſo generally received elſewhere, that it is indifferent whether an enemy is conquered by deceit or valour, was baniſhed from theſe combats. The addreſs of a combatant, expert in all the turns of his art, who knew how to ſhift and fence dexterouſly, to put the change upon his adverſary with art and ſubtilty, and to improve the leaſt advantages, muſt not be confounded here with the cowardly and knaviſh cunning of one, who, without regard to the laws preſcribed, employs the moſt unfair means to vanquiſh his competitor. Thoſe who diſpute the prize in the ſeveral kinds of combats, drew lots for their precedency in them.

It is time to bring our champions to blows, and to run over the different kinds of combats in which they exerciſed themſelves.

OF WRESTLING.

Wreſtling is one of the moſt ancient exerciſes of which we have any knowledge, having been practiſed in the time of the patriarchs, as the wreſtling of the angel with Jacob proves*. Jacob ſupported the angel's attack ſo vigorouſly, that, perceiving he could not throw ſo rough a wreſtler, he was reduced to make him lame by touching the ſinew of his thigh, which immediately ſhrunk up.

Wreſtling among the Greeks, as well as other nations, was practiſed at firſt with ſimplicity, little art, and in a natural manner; the weight of the body, and the ſtrength of the muſcles having more ſhare in it than addreſs and ſkill. Theſeus was the firſt that reduced it to method, and refined it with the rules of art. He was alſo the firſt who eſtabliſhed the public ſchools, called *Palæſtræ*, where the young people had maſters to inſtruct them in it.

The wreſtlers, before they began their combats, were rubbed all over in a rough manner, and afterwards anointed with oils, which added to the ſtrength and flexibility of their limbs. But as this unction, in making the ſkin too ſlippery, rendered

* Gen. xxxii. 24.

it

it difficult for them to take good hold of each other, they remedied that inconvenience, ſometimes by rolling themſelves in the duſt of the Palæſtræ, ſometimes by throwing a fine ſand upon each other, kept for that purpoſe in the Xyſtæ, or porticoes of the Gymnaſia.

Thus prepared, the wreſtlers began their combat. They were matched two againſt two, and ſometimes ſeveral couples contended at the ſame time. In this combat, the whole aim and deſign of the wreſtlers was to throw their adverſary upon the ground. Both ſtrength and art were employed to this purpoſe:—they ſeized each other by the arms, drew forwards, puſhed backwards, uſed many diſtortions and twiſtings of the body; locking their limbs into each other's, ſeizing by the neck, throttling, preſſing in their arms, ſtruggling, plying on all ſides; lifting from the ground, daſhing their heads together like rams, and twiſting one another's necks. The moſt conſiderable advantage in the wreſtler's art, was to make himſelf maſter of his adverſary's legs, of which a fall was the immediate conſequence. From whence Plautus ſays in his Pſeudolus, ſpeaking of wine, "* He is a dangerous wreſtler, he pre- "ſently takes one by the heels." The Greek terms ὑποσπελίζειν, and ἀπεγνίζειν, and the Latin word *ſupplantare*, ſeemed to imply, that one of theſe arts conſiſted in ſtooping down to ſeize the antagoniſt under the ſoles of his feet, and in raiſing them up to give him a fall.

In this manner the Athletæ wreſtled ſtanding, the combat ending with the fall of one of the competitors. But when it happened that the wreſtler, who was down, drew his adverſary along with him, either by art or accident, the combat continued upon the ſand, the antagoniſts tumbling and twining with each other in a thouſand different ways, till one of them got uppermoſt, and compelled the other to aſk quarter, and confeſs himſelf vanquiſhed. There was a third ſort of wreſtling called Ἀκροχειρισμὸς, from the Athletæ's uſing only their hands in it, without taking hold of the body as in the other kinds; and this exerciſe ſerved as a prelude to the greater combat. It conſiſted in intermingling their fingers, and in ſqueezing them with all their force; in puſhing one another, by joining the palms of their hands together; in twiſting their fingers, wriſts, and other joints of the arm, without the aſſiſtance of any other member; and the victory was his, who obliged his opponent to aſk quarter.

* Captat pedes primùm, luctator doloſus eſt.

The

The combatants were to fight three times ſucceſſively, and to throw their antagoniſts at leaſt twice, before the prize could be adjudged to them.

*Homer deſcribes the wreſtling of Ajax and Ulyſſes; Ovid, that of Hercules and Achelous; Lucan, of Hercules and Antæus; and the Thebaid of Statius, of Tydeus and Agylleus.

The wreſtlers of greateſt reputation amongſt the Greeks, were Milo of Croton, whoſe hiſtory I have related elſewhere at large, and Polydamas. The latter, alone and without arms, killed a furious lion upon mount Olympus, in imitation of Hercules, whom he propoſed to himſelf as a model in this action. Another time, having ſeized a bull by one of his hinder legs, the beaſt could not get looſe without leaving his hoof in his hands. He could hold a chariot behind, while the coachman whipt his horſes in vain to make them go forward. Darius Nothus, king of Perſia, hearing of his prodigious ſtrength, was deſirous of ſeeing him, and invited him to Suſa. Three ſoldiers of that prince's guard, and of that band which the Perſians called *immortal*, eſteemed the moſt warlike of their troops, were ordered to fall upon him: our champion fought, and killed them all three.

OF BOXING, OR THE CESTUS.

Boxing is a combat at handy blows, from whence it derives its name. The combatants covered their fiſts with a kind of offenſive arms, called *Ceſtus*, and their heads with a ſort of leather cap, to defend their temples and ears, which were moſt expoſed to blows, and to deaden their violence. The Ceſtus was a kind of gauntlet, or glove, made of ſtraps of leather, and plated with braſs, lead, or iron, withinſide. Their uſe was to ſtrengthen the hands of the combatants, and to add violence to their blows.

Sometimes the Athletæ came immediately to the moſt violent blows, and began with charging in the moſt furious manner. Sometimes whole hours paſſed in harraſſing and fatiguing each other, by a continual extenſion of their arms, rendering each other's blows ineffectual, and endeavouring in that manner of defence to keep off their adverſary. But when they fought with the utmoſt fury, they aimed chiefly at the head and face, which parts they were moſt careful to defend, by either avoiding or catching the blows made at them. When

Iliad. l. xxiii. v. 708, &c. Ovid Metam. l. ix. v. 31, &c. Pharſ. l. iv. v. 612. Stat. l. vi. v. 147.

a com-

a combatant came on to throw himſelf with all his force and vigour upon another, they had a ſurpriſing addreſs in avoiding the attack by a nimble turn of the body, which threw the imprudent adverſary down, and deprived him of the victory.

However fierce the combatants were againſt each other, their being exhauſted by the length of the combat would frequently reduce them to the neceſſity of making a truce: upon which the battle was ſuſpended for ſome minutes, that were employed in recovering their fatigue, and rubbing off the ſweat in which they were bathed: after which they renewed the fight, till one of them, by letting fall his arms through weakneſs, or by ſwooning away, explained that he could no longer ſupport the pain or fatigue, and deſired quarter; which was confeſſing himſelf vanquiſhed.

Boxing was one of the rudeſt and moſt dangerous of the gymnaſtic combats; becauſe, beſides the danger of being crippled, the combatants ran the hazard of their lives. They ſometimes fell down dead, or dying, upon the ſand, though that ſeldom happened, except the vanquiſhed perſon perſiſted too long in not acknowledging his defeat: yet it was common for them to quit the fight with a countenance ſo diſfigured, that it was not eaſy to know them afterwards; carrying away with them the ſad marks of their vigorous reſiſtance, ſuch as bruiſes, contuſions in the face, the loſs of an eye, their teeth knocked out, their jaws broken, or ſome more conſiderable fracture.

We find in the poets, both Latin and Greek, ſeveral deſcriptions of this kind of combat. In Homer, that of Epeus and Euryalus; * in Theocritus, of Pollux and Amycus; in Appollonius Rhodius, the ſame battle of Pollux and Amycus; in Virgil, that of Dares and Entellus; and in Statius and Valerius Flaccus, of ſeveral other combatants.

OF THE PANCRATIUM.

The Pancratium † was ſo called from two Greek words, which ſignify that the whole ſtrength of the body was neceſſary for ſucceeding in it. It united boxing and wreſtling in the ſame fight, borrowing from one its manner of ſtruggling and flinging, and from the other, the art of dealing blows, and of avoiding them with ſucceſs. In wreſtling it was not permitted to ſtrike with the hand, nor in boxing to ſeize each other in the manner of wreſtlers: but in the Pancratium, it

* Dioſcor. Idyl. xxii. Argonaut. l. ii. Æneid. l. v. Thebaid. l. vi. Argonaut. l. vi.

† Παν κρατ☉.

was

was not only allowed to make uſe of all the gripes and artifices of wreſtling, but the hands and feet, and even the teeth and nails, might be employed to conquer an antagoniſt.

This combat was the moſt rude and dangerous. A Pancratiaſt in the Olympic games, called Arrichion, or Arrachion, perceiving himſelf almoſt ſuffocated by his adverſary, who had faſt hold of him by the throat, at the ſame time that he held him by the foot, broke one of his enemy's toes, the extreme anguiſh of which obliged him to aſk quarter at the very inſtant Arrichion himſelf expired. The Agonothetæ crowned Arrichion, though dead, and proclaimed him victor. Philoſtratus has left us a very lively deſcription of a painting which repreſented this combat.

OF THE DISCUS, OR QUOIT.

The Diſcus was a kind of quoit of a round form, made ſometimes of wood, but more frequently of ſtone, lead, or other metal, as iron, or braſs. Thoſe who uſed this exercife were called Diſcoboli, that is, flingers of the Diſcus. The epithet *καταμάδιος*, which ſignifies *borne upon the ſhoulders*, given this inſtrument by Homer, ſufficiently ſhews, that it was of too great a weight to be carried from place to place in the hands only, and that the ſhoulders were neceſſary for the ſupport of ſuch a burden any ſpace of time.

The intent of this exercife, as of almoſt all the others, was to invigorate the body, and to make it more capable of ſupporting the weight and uſe of arms. In war they were often obliged to carry ſuch loads, as appear exceſſive in theſe days, either of proviſions, faſcines, palliſades; or in ſcaling of walls, when, to the equal height of them, ſeveral of the beſiegers mounted upon the ſhoulders of each other.

The Athletæ, in hurling the Diſcus, put themſelves into the beſt poſture they could, to add force to their caſt. They advanced one foot, upon which leaning the whole weight of their bodies, they poiſed the Diſcus in their hands, and then whirling it round ſeveral times almoſt horizontally, to add force to its motion, they threw it off with their joint ſtrength of hands, arms, and body, which had all a ſhare in the vigour of the diſcharge. He that flung the Diſcus fartheſt was the victor.

The moſt famous painters and ſculptors of antiquity, in their endeavours to repreſent naturally the attitudes of the Diſcoboli, have left poſterity many maſter-pieces in their ſeveral arts. Quintilian exceedingly extols a ſtatue of that kind, which had been finiſhed with infinite care and application by the cele-

brated Myron: "*What can be more finiſhed, or expreſs more "happily the muſcular diſtortions of the body in the exerciſe "of the Diſcus, than the Diſcobolus of Myron?"

OF THE PENTATHLUM.

The Greeks gave this name to an exerciſe compoſed of five others. It was the common opinion, that thoſe five exerciſes were wreſtling, running, leaping, throwing the dart, and the Diſcus. It was believed that this ſort of combat was decided in one day, and ſometimes the ſame morning; and that the prize, which was ſingle, could not be given but to the victor in all thoſe exerciſes.

The exerciſe of leaping, and throwing the javelin, of which the firſt conſiſted in leaping a certain length, and the other in hitting a mark with a javelin at a certain diſtance, contributed to the forming of a ſoldier, by making him nimble and active in battle, and expert in flinging the ſpear and dart.

OF RACES.

Of all the exerciſes which the Athletæ cultivated with ſo much pains and induſtry for their appearance in the public games, running was in the higheſt eſtimation, and held the foremoſt rank. The Olympic games generally opened with races, and were ſolemnized at firſt with no other exerciſe.

The place where the Athletæ exerciſed themſelves in running was generally called the *Stadium* by the Greeks; as was that wherein they diſputed in earneſt for the prize. As the liſts or courſe for theſe games was at firſt but one † Stadium in length, it took its name from this meaſure, and was called the Stadium, whether preciſely of that extent, or of a much greater. Under that denomination was included not only the ſpace in which the Athletæ ran, but alſo that which contained the ſpectators of the gymnaſtic games. The place where the Athletæ contended, was called Scamma, from its lying lower than the reſt of the Stadium, on each ſide of which, and its extremity, ran an aſcent or kind of terrace, covered with ſeats and benches, upon which the ſpectators were ſeated. The

* Quid tam diſtortum et elaboratum, quam eſt illie Diſcobolus Myronis? Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 13.

† The Stadium was a land-meaſure among the Greeks, and was, according to Herodotus, l. ii. c. 149. ſix hundred feet in extent. Pliny ſays, lib. ii. c. 23. that it was ſix hundred and twenty-five. Thoſe two authors may agree, conſidering the difference between the Greek and Roman foot; beſides which, the meaſure of the Stadium varies, according to the difference of times and places.

moſt

moſt remarkable parts of the Stadium were its entrance, middle, and extremity.

The entrance of the courſe was marked at firſt only by a line drawn on the ſand, from ſide to ſide of the Stadium. To that at length was ſubſtituted a kind of barrier, which was only a cord ſtraitened tight in the front of the horſes or men that were to run. It was ſometimes a rail of wood. The opening of this barrier was the ſignal for the racers to ſtart.

The middle of the Stadium was remarkable only by the circumſtance of having the prizes allotted to the victors ſet up there. St. Chryſoſtom draws a fine compariſon from this cuſtom. "As the judges," ſays he, "in the races and other "games, expoſe in the midſt of the Stadium, to the view of "the champions, the crowns which they are to receive; in "the like manner the Lord, by the mouth of his prophets, "has placed the prizes in the midſt of the courſe, which he "deſigns for thoſe who have the courage to contend for "them."

At the extremity of the Stadium was a goal, where the foot-races ended, but in thoſe of chariots and horſes they were to run ſeveral times round it, without ſtopping, and afterwards conclude the race by regaining the other extremity of the liſts, from whence they ſtarted.

There were three kinds of races, the chariot, the horſe, and the foot-race. I ſhall begin with the laſt, as the moſt ſimple, natural, and ancient.

I. OF THE FOOT-RACE.

The runners, of whatever number they were, ranged themſelves in a line, after having drawn lots for their places. * Whilſt they waited the ſignal to ſtart, they practiſed, by way of prelude, various motions to awaken their activity, and to keep their limbs pliable and in a right temper. They kept themſelves breathing by ſmall leaps, and making little excurſions, that were a kind of trial of their ſpeed and agility. Upon the ſignal's being given, they flew towards the goal, with a rapidity ſcarce to be followed by the eye, which was ſolely to

* ——————Tunc rite citatos
Explorant, aucunque gradus, variaſque per artes
Inſtimulant docto languentia membra tumultu.
Poplite nunc flexo fidunt, nunc lubrica ſorti
Pectora collidunt plauſu; nunc ignea toliunt
Crura, brevemque fugam nec opino fine reponunt.
STRAT. THEB. lib. vi. v. 587, &c.

decide the victory: for the Agoniſtic laws prohibited upon the moſt ignominious penalties, the attaining it by any foul method.

In the ſimple race, the extent of the Stadium was run but once, at the end of which the prize attended the victor, that is, he who came in firſt. In the race called Διαυλος, the competitors ran twice that length, that is, after having arrived at the goal they returned to the barrier. To theſe may be added a third ſort, called Δολιχος, which was the longeſt of all, as its name implies, and was compoſed of ſeveral Diauli. Sometimes it conſiſted of twenty-four Stadia backwards and forwards, turning twelve times round the goal.

There were runners in ancient times, as well amongſt the Greeks as Romans, who were much celebrated for their ſwiftneſs. * Pliny tells us, that it was thought prodigious in Phidippides to run eleven hundred and forty Stadia † between Athens and Lacedæmon in the ſpace of two days, till Anyſtis of the latter place, and Philonides, the runner of Alexander the Great, made twelve hundred Stadia ‡ in one day, from Sicyone to Elis. Theſe runners were denominated ἡμεροδρόμοι, as we find in that paſſage of Herodotus §, which mentions Phidippides. In the conſulate of Fonteius and Vipſanus, in the reign of Nero, a boy of nine years old ran ſeventy-five thouſand paces ‖ between noon and night. Pliny adds, that in his time there were runners, who ran one hundred and ſixty thouſand paces ** in the Circus. Our wonder at ſuch a prodigious ſpeed will increaſe, continues he, †† if we reflect, that when Tiberius went to Germany to his brother Druſus, then at the point of death, he could not arrive there in leſs than four-and-twenty hours, though the diſtance was but two hundred thouſand paces ‡‡, and he ran with three poſt-chaiſes §§ with the utmoſt diligence.

II. OF THE HORSE-RACES.

The race of a ſingle horſe with a rider was leſs celebrated by the ancients, yet it had its favourers amongſt the moſt conſiderable perſons, and even kings themſelves, and was attended with uncommon glory to the victor. Pindar, in his firſt ode, celebrates a victory of this kind, obtained by Hiero, king of Syracuſe, to whom he gives the title of Κέλης, that is, *Victor*

* Plin. l. vii. c. 20.
§ Herod. l. vi. c. 106.
†† Val. Max. l. v. c. 5.
† 57 leagues.
‖ 30 leagues.
‡‡ 67 leagues.
‡ 60 leagues.
** More than 53 leagues.
§§ He had only a guide and one officer with him.

in the horſe-race; which name was given to the horſes carrying only a ſingle rider, Κέλητες. Sometimes the rider led another horſe by the bridle, and then the horſes were called *Deſultorii*, and their riders *Deſultores*; becauſe, after a number of turns in the Stadium, they changed horſes, by dexterouſly vaulting from one to the other. A ſurpriſing addreſs was neceſſary upon this occaſion, eſpecially in an age unacquainted with the uſe of ſtirrups, and when the horſes had no ſaddles, which ſtill made the leap more difficult. In the armies there were alſo cavalry * called *Deſultores*, who vaulted from one horſe to another as occaſion required, and were generally Numidians.

III. OF THE CHARIOT-RACES.

This kind of race was the moſt renowned of all the exerciſes uſed in the games of the ancients, and that from whence moſt honour redounded to the victors; which is not to be wondered at, if we conſider their origin. It is plain they were derived from the conſtant cuſtom of princes, heroes, and great men, fighting in battle upon chariots. Homer has an infinity of examples of this kind. This being admitted as a cuſtom, it is natural to ſuppoſe it very agreeable to theſe heroes, to have their charioteers as expert as poſſible in driving, as their ſucceſs depended, in a very great meaſure, upon the addreſs of their drivers. It was anciently, therefore, only to perſons of the firſt conſideration, that this office was confided. Hence aroſe a laudable emulation to excel others in the art of guiding a chariot, and a kind of neceſſity to practiſe it very much, for the attainment of it. The high rank of the perſons, who made uſe of chariots, ennoble, as it always happens, an exerciſe peculiar to them. The other exerciſes were adapted to private ſoldiers and horſemen, as wreſtling, running, and the ſingle horſe-race; but the uſe of chariots in the field was always reſerved to princes and generals of armies.

Hence it was, that all thoſe who preſented themſelves in the Olympic games to diſpute the prize in the chariot-races, were perſons conſiderable either for their riches, their birth, their employments, or great actions. Kings themſelves aſpired paſſionately to this glory, from the belief that the title of victor, in theſe games, was ſcarce inferior to that of conqueror, and that the Olympic palm added new dignity to the ſplendors of

* Nec omnes Numidæ in dextro locati cornu, ſed quibus deſultorum in modum binos trahentibus equos, inter acerrimam ſæpe pugnam, in recentem equum ex feſſo armatis tranſultare mos erat: tanta velocitas ipſis, tamque docile equorum genus eſt. Liv. lib. xxiii.

a throne. Pindar's odes inform us, that Gelon and Hiero, kings of Syracuſe, were of that opinion. Dionyſius, who reigned there long after them, carried the ſame ambition much higher. Philip of Macedon had theſe victories ſtamped upon his coins, and ſeemed as much affected with them, as with thoſe obtained againſt the enemies of his ſtate. *All the world knows the anſwer of Alexander the Great on this ſubject. When his friends aſked him, whether he would diſpute the prize of the races in theſe games: "Yes," ſaid he, "if "kings were to be my antagoniſts:"—which ſhews, that he would not have diſdained theſe exerciſes, if there had been competitors in them worthy of him.

The chariots were generally drawn by two or four horſes, placed in a row; *biga*, *quadrigæ*. Sometimes mules ſupplied the place of horſes, and then the chariot was called ἁπήνη. Pindar, in the fifth ode of his firſt book, celebrates one Pſaumis, who had obtained a triple victory; one by a chariot drawn by four horſes, τεθρίππῳ; another by one drawn by mules, ἁπήνῃ; and the third by a ſingle horſe, κέλητι, which the title of the ode expreſſes.

Theſe chariots, upon a ſignal given, ſtarted together from a place called *Carceres*. Their places were regulated by lot, which was not an indifferent circumſtance as to the victory; for being to turn round a boundary, the chariot on the left was nearer than thoſe on the right, which in conſequence had a greater compaſs to take. It appears from ſeveral paſſages in Pindar, and eſpecially from one in Sophocles, which I ſhall cite very ſoon, that they ran twelve times round the Stadium. He that came in firſt the twelfth round was victor. The chief art conſiſted in taking the beſt ground at the turning of the boundary: for if the charioteer drove too near it, he was in danger of daſhing the chariot to pieces; and if he kept too wide of it, his neareſt antagoniſt might cut the way upon him, and get foremoſt.

It is obvious that theſe chariot-races could not be run without ſome danger; for, as the † motion of the wheels was very rapid, and grazed againſt the boundary in turning, the leaſt error in driving would have broke the chariot in pieces, and might have dangerouſly wounded the charioteer. An example of this we find in the Electra of Sophocles, who gives an admirable deſcription of this kind of race run by ten competi-

* Plut. in Alex. p. 666.

† Metaque fervidis evitata rotis. HORAT. Od. i. lib. 1.

tors.

tors. The falſe Oreſtes, at the twelfth and laſt round, having only one antagoniſt, the reſt having been thrown out, was ſo unfortunate as to break one of his wheels againſt the boundary, and falling out of his ſeat entangled in the reins, the horſes dragged him violently forwards along with them, and tore him to pieces: but this very ſeldom happened. * To avoid ſuch danger, Neſtor gave the following directions to his ſon Antilochus, who was going to diſpute the prize in the chariot-races. "My ſon," ſays he, "drive your horſes as near as poſſible to "the turning; for which reaſon, always inclining your body "over your chariot, get the left of your competitors, and en- "couraging the horſe on the right, give him the rein, whilſt "the near-horſe, hard held, turns the boundary ſo cloſe to it, "that the nave of the wheel ſeems to graze upon it; but "have a care of running againſt the ſtone, leſt you wound "your horſes, and daſh the chariot in pieces."

Father Montfaucon mentions a difficulty, in his opinion, very conſiderable, in regard to the places of thoſe who contended for the prize in the chariot-race. They all ſtarted indeed from the ſame line, and at the ſame time, and ſo far had no advantage of each other; but he, whoſe lot gave him the firſt place, being neareſt the boundary at the end of the career, and having but a ſmall compaſs to deſcribe in turning about it, had leſs way to make than the ſecond, third, fourth, &c. eſpecially when the chariots were drawn by four horſes, which took up a greater ſpace between the firſt and the others, and obliged them to make a larger circle in coming round. This advantage twelve times together, as it muſt happen, admitting the Stadium was to be run round twelve times, gave ſuch a ſuperiority to the firſt, as ſeemed to aſſure him infallibly of the victory againſt all his competitors. To me it ſeems, that the fleetneſs of the horſes, joined with the addreſs of the driver, might countervail this odds; either by getting before the firſt, or by taking his place; for it is not to be ſuppoſed, that in the progreſs of the race, the antagoniſts always continued in the ſame order they ſtarted. They often changed places in a ſhort interval of time, and in that variety and viciſſitude conſiſted all the diverſion of the ſpectators.

It was not required, that thoſe who diſputed the victory ſhould enter the liſts, and drive their chariots in perſon. Their being ſpectators of the games, or ſending their horſes thither, was ſufficient; but in either caſe, it was previouſly neceſſary to

* Hom. Il. l. xxiii. v. 334, &c.

regiſter

regiſter the names of the perſons, for whom the horſes were to run, either in the chariot or ſingle horſe-races.

* At the time that the city of Potidæa ſurrendered to Philip, three couriers brought him advices; the firſt, that the Illyrians had been defeated in a great battle by his general Parmenio; the ſecond, that he had carried the prize of the horſe-race in the Olympic games; and the third, that the queen was delivered of a ſon. Plutarch ſeems to inſinuate, that Philip was equally delighted with each of theſe circumſtances.

† Hiero ſent horſes to Olympia, to run for the prize, and cauſed a magnificent pavilion to be erected for them. Upon this occaſion Themiſtocles harangued the Greeks, to perſuade them to pull down the tyrant's pavilion, who had refuſed his aid againſt the common enemy, and to hinder his horſes from running with the reſt. It does not appear that any regard was had to this remonſtrance; for we find by one of Pindar's odes, compoſed in honour of Hiero, that he won the prize in the equeſtrian races.

‡ No one ever carried the ambition of making a great figure in the public games of Greece ſo far as Alcibiades, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the moſt ſplendid manner, by the great number of horſes and chariots, which he kept only for the races. There never was either private perſon or king that ſent, as he did, ſeven chariots at once to the Olympic games, wherein he carried the firſt, ſecond, and third prizes; an honour no one ever had before him. The famous poet Euripides celebrated theſe victories in an ode, of which Plutarch has preſerved a fragment *in vit. Alcib.* The victor, after having made a ſumptuous ſacrifice to Jupiter, gave a magnificent feaſt to the innumerable multitude of the ſpectators at the games. It is not eaſy to comprehend, how the wealth of a private perſon ſhould ſuffice to ſo enormous an expence: but Antiſthenes, the ſcholar of Socrates, who relates what he ſaw, informs us, that many cities of the allies, in a kind of emulation with each other, ſupplied Alcibiades with all things neceſſary for the ſupport of ſuch incredible magnificence: equipages, horſes, tents, ſacrifices, the moſt exquiſite proviſions, the moſt delicate wines; in a word, all that was neceſſary to the ſupport of his table or train. The paſſage is remarkable; for the ſame author aſſures us, that this was not only done when Alcibiades went to the Olympic games, but in all his military expeditions and journeys by land or ſea. "Wherever," ſays he, "Alcibiades

* Plut. in Alex. p. 666.
† Plut. in Themiſt. p. 124.
‡ Plut. in Alcibiad. p. 196.

"travelled,

" travelled, he made uſe of four of the allied cities as his ſer-
" vants. Epheſus furniſhed him with tents, as magnificent as
" thoſe of the Perſians; Chios took care to provide for his hor-
" ſes; Cyzicum ſupplied him with ſacrifices, and proviſions
" for his table; and Leſbos gave him wine, with all the other
" neceſſaries of his houſe."

I muſt not omit, in ſpeaking of the Olympic games, that the ladies were admitted to diſpute the prize in them as well as the men; which many of them obtained. * Cyniſca, ſiſter of Ageſilaus, king of Sparta, firſt opened this new path of glory to her ſex, and was proclaimed victrix in the race of chariots with four horſes. †This victory, which till then had no example, did not fail of being celebrated with all poſſible ſplendor.—‡A magnificent monument was erected in Sparta in honour of Cyniſca; and the Lacedæmonians, though otherwiſe very little ſenſible to the charms of poetry, appointed a poet to tranſmit this new triumph to poſterity, and to immortalize its memory by an inſcription in verſe. §She herſelf dedicated a chariot of braſs, drawn by four horſes, in the temple of Delphos, in which the charioteer was alſo repreſented; a certain proof that ſhe did not drive it herſelf. ‖In proceſs of time, the picture of Cyniſca, drawn by the famous Apelles, was annexed to it, and the whole adorned with many inſcriptions in honour of that Spartan heroine.

OF THE HONOURS AND REWARDS GRANTED TO THE VICTORS.

Theſe honours and rewards were of ſeveral kinds. The ſpectators' acclamations in honour of the victors were only a prelude to the rewards deſigned them. Theſe rewards were different wreaths of wild olive, pine, parſley, or laurel, according to the different places where the games were celebrated. Thoſe crowns were always attended with branches of palm, that the victors carried in their right hands; which cuſtom, according to Plutarch**, aroſe, perhaps, from the nature of the palm-tree, which diſplays new vigour the more endeavours are uſed to cruſh or bend it, and is a ſymbol of the champion's courage and reſiſtance in the attainment of the prize. As he might be victor more than once in the ſame games, and ſometimes on the ſame day, he might alſo receive ſeveral crowns and palms.

* Pauſan. l. iii. p. 172. † Pag. 288. ‡ Pag. 272.
§ Id. l. v. p. 309. ‖ Id. l. vi. p. 334. ** Sympoſ. l. viii. q. 4.

When

When the victor had received the crown and palm, an herald preceded by a trumpet, conducted him through the Stadium, and proclaimed aloud his name and country, who paſſed in that kind of review before the people, whilſt they redoubled their acclamations and applauſes at the ſight of him.

When he returned to his own country, the people came out in a body to meet him, and conducted him into the city, adorned with all the marks of his victory, and riding upon a chariot drawn by four horſes. He made his entry not through the gates, but through a breach purpoſely made in the walls. Lighted torches were carried before him, and a numerous train followed to do honour to the proceſſion.

The athletic triumph almoſt always concluded with feaſts made for the victors, their relations, and friends, either at the expence of the public, or by particulars, who regaled not only their families and friends, but often a great part of the ſpectators. * Alcibiades, after having ſacrificed to Jupiter, which was always the firſt care of the victor, treated the whole aſſembly. Leophron did the ſame, as Athenæus reports † ; who adds, that Empedocles of Agrigentum, having conquered in the ſame games, and not having it in his power, being a Pythagorean, to regale the people with fleſh or fiſh, he cauſed an ox to be made of paſte, compoſed of myrrh, incenſe, and all ſorts of ſpices, of which pieces were given to all who were preſent.

One of the moſt honourable privileges granted to the athletic victors, was the right of taking place at the public games. At Sparta it was a cuſtom for the king to take them with him in military expeditions, to fight near his perſon, and to be his guard ; which, with reaſon, was judged very honourable. Another privilege, in which the uſeful united with the honourable, was that of being maintained for the reſt of their lives at the expence of their country. ‡ That this expence might not become too chargeable to the ſtate, Solon reduced the penſion of a victor in the Olympic games to five hundred drachms § ; in the Iſthmian to an hundred ‖ ; and in the reſt in proportion. The victor and his country conſidered this penſion leſs as a relief of the champion's indigence, than as a mark of honour and diſtinction. They were alſo exempted from all civil offices and employments.

The celebration of the games being over, one of the firſt applications of the magiſtrates who preſided in them was to

* Plut. in Alcib. p. 196. † Lib. i. p. 3.
‡ Diog. Laert. in Solon, p. 37. § 250 livres. ‖ 50 livres.

inſcribe

inſcribe, in the public regiſter, the name and country of the Athletæ who had carried the prizes, and to annex the ſpecies of combat in which they had been victorious. The chariot-race had the preference to all other games. From whence the hiſtorians, who date their facts by the Olympiads, as Thucydides, Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus, Diodorus Siculus, and Pauſanias, almoſt always expreſs the Olympiad by the name and country of the victors in that race.

The praiſes of the victorious Athletæ were among the Greeks one of the principal ſubjects of their lyric poetry. We find, that all the odes of the four books of Pindar turn upon it, each of which takes its title from the games, in which the combatants ſignalized themſelves, whoſe victories thoſe poems celebrate. The poet, indeed, frequently enriches his matter, by calling in to the champion's aſſiſtance, incapable alone of inſpiring all the enthuſiaſm neceſſary, the aid of the gods, heroes, and princes who have any relation to his ſubject; and to ſupport the flights of imagination to which he abandons himſelf. Before Pindar, the poet Simonides practiſed the ſame manner of writing, intermingling the praiſes of the gods and heroes with thoſe of the champions whoſe victories he ſang. * It is related upon this head, that one of the victors in boxing, called Scopas, having agreed with Simonides for a poem upon his victory, the poet, according to cuſtom, after having given the higheſt praiſes to the champion, expatiates in a long digreſſion to the honour of Caſtor and Pollux. Scopas, ſatisfied in appearance with the performance of Simonides, paid him, however, only the third part of the ſum agreed on, referring him for the remainder to the Tyndarides, whom he had celebrated ſo well. And he was well paid for their part in effect, if we may believe the ſequel: For at the feaſt given by the champion, whilſt the gueſts were at table, a ſervant came to Simonides, and told him, that two men covered with duſt and ſweat, were at the door and deſired to ſpeak with him in all haſte. He had ſcarce ſet his foot out of the chamber, in order to go to them, when the roof fell in, and cruſhed the champion with all his gueſts to death.

Sculpture united with poetry to perpetuate the fame of the champions. Statues were erected to the victors, eſpecially in the Olympic games, in the very place where they had been crowned, and ſometimes in that of their birth alſo; which was commonly done at the expence of their country. Among the

* Cic. de Orat. l. ii. n. 352, 353. Phæd. l. ii. fab. 23. Quin. l. xi. c. 2.

ſtatues

ſtatues which adorned Olympia, were thoſe of ſeveral children of ten or twelve years old, who had obtained the prize at that age in the Olympic games. They did not only raiſe ſuch monuments to the champions, but to the very horſes to whoſe ſwiftneſs they were indebted for the Agoniſtic crown: And * Pauſanias mentions one, which was erected in honour of a mare, called Aura, whoſe hiſtory is worth repeating. Phidolas, her rider, having fallen off in the beginning of the race, the mare continued to run in the ſame manner as if he had been upon her back. She outſtripped all the reſt, and upon the ſound of the trumpets, which was uſual towards the end of the race to animate the competitors, ſhe redoubled her vigour and courage, turned round the goal, and, as if ſhe had been ſenſible of the victory, preſented herſelf before the judges of the games. The Æleans declared Phidolas victor, with permiſſion to erect a monument to himſelf and the mare that had ſerved him ſo well.

The different Taste of the Greeks and Romans, in regard to Public Shows.

Before I make an end of obſerving upon the combats and games, ſo much in eſtimation among the Greeks, I beg the reader's permiſſion to make a reflection, that may ſerve to explain the different characters of the Greeks and Romans, with regard to this ſubject.

The moſt common entertainment of the latter, at which the fair ſex, by nature tender and compaſſionate, were preſent in throngs, was the combats of the gladiators, and of men with bears and lions, in which the cries of the wounded and dying, and the abundant effuſion of human blood, ſupplied a grateful ſpectacle for a whole people, who feaſted their cruel eyes with the ſavage pleaſure of ſeeing men murder one another in cool blood; and in the times of the perſecutions, with the tearing in pieces of old men and infants, of women and tender virgins, whoſe age and weakneſs are apt to excite compaſſion in the hardeſt hearts.

In Greece theſe combats were abſolutely unknown, and only introduced into ſome cities, after their ſubjection to the Roman people. † The Athenians, however, whoſe diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics were benevolence and humanity, never admitted them into their city; and when it was propoſed to introduce the combats of the gladiators, that they might not

* Lib. vi. p. 368. † Lucian in vit. Demonact. p. 1014.

be

be outdone by the Corinthians in that point, "First throw "down," cried out an * Athenian from the midst of the assembly, "throw down the altar, erected above a thousand "years ago by our ancestors to Mercy."

It must be allowed, in this respect, that the conduct and wisdom of the Greeks was infinitely superior to that of the Romans. I speak of the wisdom of Pagans. Convinced that the multitude, too much governed by the objects of sense to be sufficiently amused and entertained with the pleasures of the understanding, could be delighted only with sensible objects, both nations were studious to divert them with games and shews, and such external contrivances, as were proper to affect the senses: in the institution of which, each follows its peculiar genius and disposition.

The Romans, educated in war, and accustomed to battles, retained, notwithstanding the politeness upon which they piqued themselves, something of their ancient ferocity; and hence it was, that the effusion of blood, and the murders exhibited in their public shows, far from inspiring them with horror, was a grateful entertainment to them.

The insolent pomp of triumphs flows from the same source, and argues no less inhumanity. To obtain this honour, it was necessary to prove, that eight or ten thousand men at least had been killed in battle. The spoils, which were carried with so much ostentation, proclaimed, that an infinity of honest families had been reduced to the utmost misery. The innumerable troop of captives had been free persons a few days before, and were often distinguishable for honour, merit, and virtue. The representation of the towns that had been taken in the war explained, that they had sacked, plundered, and burnt the most opulent cities; and either destroyed or enslaved their inhabitants. In fine, nothing was more inhuman, than to drag kings and princes in chains before the chariot of a Roman citizen, and to insult their misfortunes and humiliation in that public manner.

† The triumphal arches, erected under the emperors, where the enemies appeared with chains upon their hands and legs, could proceed only from an haughty fierceness of disposition, and an inhuman pride, that took delight in immortalizing the shame and sorrow of subjected nations.

The joy of the Greeks after a victory was far more modest. They erected trophies indeed, but of wood, a matter little du-

* It was Demonax, a celebrated philosopher, whose disciple Lucian had been. He flourished in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

† Plut. in Quæst. Rom. p. 273.

rable, which would ſoon conſume; and thoſe it was prohibited to renew. Plutarch's reaſon for this is admirable *. After time had deſtroyed and obliterated the marks of diſſenſion and enmity that had divided the people, it would have been the exceſs of odious and barbarous animoſity, to have thought of re-eſtabliſhing them, and to have perpetuated the remembrance of ancient quarrels, which could not be buried too ſoon in ſilence and oblivion. He adds, that the trophies of ſtone and braſs, ſince ſubſtituted to thoſe of wood, reflect no honour upon thoſe who introduced the cuſtom.

† I am pleaſed with the grief of Ageſilaus's countenance, after a conſiderable victory, wherein a great number of his enemies, that is to ſay, of Greeks, were left upon the field, and to hear him utter with ſighs and groans, theſe words, ſo full of moderation and humanity: "Oh unhappy Greece, to de-"prive thyſelf of ſo many brave citizens, and to deſtroy thoſe "who had been ſufficient to have conquered all the Barba-"rians!"

The ſame ſpirit of moderation and humanity prevailed in the public ſhews of the Greeks. Their feſtivals had nothing mournful or afflictive in them. Every thing in thoſe feaſts tended to delight, friendſhip, and harmony: and in that conſiſted one of the greateſt advantages which reſulted to Greece from the ſolemnization of theſe games. The republics, ſeparated by diſtance of country, and diverſity of intereſts, having the opportunity of meeting from time to time, in the ſame place, and in the midſt of rejoicing and feſtivity, allied themſelves more ſtrictly with one another, apprized each other againſt the Barbarians and the common enemies of their liberty, and made up their differences by the mediation of ſome neutral ſtate in alliance with them. The ſame language, manners, ſacrifices, exerciſes, and worſhip, all conſpired to unite the ſeveral little ſtates of Greece into one great and formidable nation; and to preſerve among them the ſame diſpoſition, the ſame principles, the ſame zeal for their liberty, and the ſame paſſion for the arts and ſciences.

OF THE PRIZES OF WIT, AND THE SHOWS AND REPRESENTATIONS OF THE THEATRE.

I have reſerved for the concluſion of this head another kind of competition, which does not at all depend upon the ſtrength, activity, and addreſs of the body, and may be called with rea-

* "Οτι τῶ χρόνω τὰ σημεῖα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους διαφορᾶς ἀμαυρῶντω, αὐτοὺς ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ καινοποιεῖν ἐπιφθονόν ἐστι καὶ φιλαπεχθήμον.

† Plut. in Lacon. Apophthegm. p. 211.

ſon

ſon the combat of the mind; wherein the orators, hiſtorians, and poets made trial of their capacities, and ſubmitted their productions to the cenſure and judgment of the public. The emulation in this ſort of diſpute was moſt lively and ardent, as the victory in queſtion might juſtly be deemed to be infinitely ſuperior to all the others, becauſe it affects the man more nearly, is founded on his perſonal and internal qualities, and decides the merit of his wit and capacity; which are advantages we are apt to aſpire at with the utmoſt vivacity and paſſion, and of which we are the leaſt of all inclined to renounce the glory to others.

It was a great honour, and at the ſame time a moſt ſenſible pleaſure, for writers, who are generally fond of fame and applauſe, to have known how to reconcile the voices in their favour of ſo numerous and ſelect an aſſembly as that of the Olympic games, in which were preſent all the fineſt geniuſſes of Greece, and all the beſt judges of the excellency of a work. This theatre was equally open to hiſtory, eloquence, and poetry.

* Herodotus read his hiſtory in the Olympic games to all Greece, aſſembled at them, and was heard with ſuch applauſe, that the name of the nine Muſes were given to the nine books which compoſe his work; and the people cried out wherever he paſſed, "That is he, who has wrote our hiſtory, and cele-" brated our glorious ſucceſſes againſt the Barbarians ſo ex-" cellently."

All who had been preſent at the games, did afterwards make every part of Greece reſound with the name and glory of this illuſtrious hiſtorian.

Lucian who writes the fact I have repeated, adds, that, after the example of Herodotus, many of the ſophiſts and rhetoricians went to Olympia, to read the harangues of their compoſing; finding that the ſhorteſt and moſt certain method of acquiring a great reputation in a little time.

† Plutarch obſerves, that Lyſias, the famous Athenian orator, cotemporary with Herodotus, pronounced a ſpeech in the Olympic games, wherein he congratulated the Greeks upon their reconciliation with each other, and their having united to reduce the power of Dionyſius the Tyrant, as upon the greateſt action they had ever done.

‡ We may judge of the paſſion of the poets to ſignalize themſelves in theſe ſolemn games, from that of Dionyſius himſelf.

* Lucian. in Herod. p. 622. † Plut. de vit. Orat. p. 836.
‡ Diod. l. xiv. p. 318.

That prince, who had the fooliſh vanity to believe himſelf the moſt excellent poet of his time, appointed readers, called in the Greek ῥαψῳδοὶ, *(Rhapſodiſts)*, to read pieces of his compoſing at Olympia. When they began to pronounce the verſes of the royal poet, the ſtrong and harmonious voices of the readers occaſioned a profound ſilence, and they were heard at firſt with the greateſt attention, which continually decreaſed as they went on, and turned at laſt into downright horſe-laughs and hooting; ſo miſerable did the verſes appear. * He comforted himſelf for this diſgrace by a victory he gained ſome time after in the feaſt of Bacchus at Athens, in which he cauſed a tragedy of his compoſition to be repreſented.

The diſputes of the poets in the Olympic games were nothing in compariſon with the ardour and emulation expreſſed by them at Athens; which is what remains to be ſaid upon this ſubject, and therefore I ſhall conclude with it; taking occaſion to give my readers, at the ſame time, a ſhort view of the ſhows and repreſentations of the theatre of the ancients. Thoſe who would be more fully informed in this ſubject, will find it treated at large in a work lately made public by the reverend father Brumoi, the Jeſuit; a work which abounds with profound knowledge and erudition, and with reflections entirely new, deduced from the nature of the poems of which it treats. I ſhall make conſiderable uſe of that piece, and often without citing it; which is not uncommon with me.

EXTRAORDINARY PASSION OF THE ATHENIANS FOR THE ENTERTAINMENTS OF THE STAGE.

EMULATION OF THE POETS IN DISPUTING THE PRIZES IN THOSE REPRESENTATIONS.

A SHORT IDEA OF DRAMATIC POETRY.

No people ever expreſſed ſo much ardour and paſſion for the entertainments of the theatre as the Greeks, and eſpecially the Athenians. The reaſon of this is obvious: No people ever demonſtrated ſuch extent of genius, nor carried ſo far the love of eloquence and poeſy, taſte for the ſciences, juſtneſs of ſentiment, elegance of ear, and delicacy in all the refinements of language. †A poor woman who ſold herbs at Athens, diſtinguiſhed Theophraſtus to be a ſtranger, by a

* Diod. l. 15. p. 384.

† Attica anus Theophraſtum, hominem alioqui diſſertiſſimum, annotata unius affectatione verbi, hoſpitem dixit. Quint. l. viii. c. 1.

ſingle

ſingle word which he made uſe of in expreſſing himſelf. The common people got the tragedies of Euripides by heart. The genius of every nation expreſſes itſelf in the people's manner of paſſing their time, and in their pleaſures. The great employment and delight of the Athenians were to amuſe themſelves with works of wit, and to judge of the dramatic pieces, that were acted by the public authority ſeveral times a-year, eſpecially at the feaſts of Bacchus, when the tragic and comic poets diſputed for the prize. The former uſed to preſent four of their pieces at a time; except Sophocles, who did not think fit to continue ſo laborious an exerciſe, and confined himſelf to one performance, when he diſputed the prize.

The ſtate appointed judges, to determine upon the merit of the tragic or comic pieces, before they were repreſented in the feſtivals. They were acted before them in the preſence of the people; but undoubtedly with no great preparation. The judges gave their ſuffrages, and that performance which had the moſt voices was declared victorious, received the crown as ſuch, and was received with all poſſible pomp at the expence of the republic. This did not, however, exclude ſuch pieces as were only in the ſecond or third claſs. The beſt had not always the preference: for what times were exempted from party, caprice, ignorance, and prejudice? *Ælian is very angry with the judges, who, in one of theſe diſputes, gave only the ſecond place to Euripides. He accuſes them of judging either without capacity, or of giving their voices for hire. It is eaſy to conceive the warmth and emulation, which theſe diſputes and public rewards excited amongſt the poets, and how much they contributed to the perfection to which Greece carried dramatic performances.

The dramatic poem introduces the perſons themſelves, ſpeaking and acting upon the ſtage: in the epic, on the contrary, only the poet relates the different adventures of his characters. It is natural to be delighted with fine deſcriptions of events, in which illuſtrious perſons and whole nations are intereſted; and hence the epic poem had its origin. But we are quite differently affected with hearing thoſe perſons themſelves, with being confidants of their moſt ſecret ſentiments, and auditors and ſpectators of their reſolutions, enterpriſes, and the happy or unhappy events attending them. To read, and ſee an action, are quite different things: we are infinitely more moved with what is acted than with what we read. The

* Ælian. l. ii. c. 8.

ſpectator, agreeably deceived by an imitation ſo nearly approaching life, miſtakes the picture for the original, and thinks the object real. This gave birth to dramatic poetry, which includes tragedy and comedy.

To theſe may be added the ſatyric poem, which derives its name from the ſatyrs, rural gods, who were the chief characters in it; and not from the *ſatire*, a kind of abuſive poetry, which has no reſemblance to this, and is of a much later date. The ſatyric poem was neither tragedy nor comedy, but ſomething between both, participating of the character of each. The poets, who diſputed the prize, generally added one of theſe pieces to their tragedies, to allay the grave and ſolemn of the one, with the mirth and pleaſantry of the other. There is but one example of this ancient poem come down to us, which is the Cyclops of Euripides.

I ſhall confine myſelf upon this head to tragedy and comedy; which had both their origin among the Greeks, who looked upon them as fruits of their own growth, of which they could never have enough. Athens was remarkable for an extraordinary appetite of this kind. Theſe two poems, which were a long time compriſed under the general name of tragedy, received there by degrees ſuch improvements, as at length raiſed them to their laſt perfection.

THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF TRAGEDY.

POETS WHO EXCELLED IN IT AT ATHENS; ÆSCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, AND EURIPIDES.

There had been many tragic and comic poets before Theſpis; but as they had altered nothing in the original rude form of this poem, and Theſpis was the firſt that made any improvement in it, he was generally eſteemed its inventor. Before him, tragedy was no more than a jumble of buffoon tales in the comic ſtyle, intermixed with the ſinging of a chorus in praiſe of Bacchus; for it is to the feaſts of that god, celebrated at the time of the vintage, that tragedy owes its birth.

Theſpis made ſeveral alterations in it, which Horace deſcribes after Ariſtotle, in his Art of Poetry. The * firſt was to carry his actors about in a cart, whereas before they uſed to ſing in the ſtreets, wherever chance led them. Another was to have their faces ſmeared over with wine-lees, inſtead of acting without diſguiſe as at firſt. He alſo introduced a character among

* Ignotum tragicæ genus inveniſſe Camenæ
Dicitur, et plauſtris vexiſſe poëmata Theſpis,
Quæ canerent agerentque, peruncti fæcibus ora. HOR. de Art. Poet.

the

the chorus, who, to give the actors time to reſt themſelves and to take breath, repeated the adventures of ſome illuſtrious perſon; which recital, at length, gave place to the ſubjects of tragedy.

*Theſpis lived in the time of Solon. That wiſe legiſlator, upon ſeeing his pieces performed, expreſſed his diſlike, by ſtriking his ſtaff againſt the ground; apprehending, that theſe poetical fictions, and idle ſtories, from mere theatrical repreſentations, would ſoon become matters of importance, and have too great a ſhare in all public and private affairs.

It is not ſo eaſy to invent, as to improve the inventions of others. The alterations Theſpis made in tragedy, gave room for Æſchylus to make new and more conſiderable of his own. He was born at Athens, in the firſt year of the ſixtieth Olympiad†. He took upon him the profeſſion of arms, at a time when the Athenians reckoned almoſt as many heroes as citizens. He was at the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa, where he did his duty. But his diſpoſition called him elſewhere, and put him upon entering into another courſe‡, where no leſs glory was to be acquired; and where he was ſoon without any competitors. As a ſuperior genius, he took upon him to reform, or rather to create tragedy anew; of which he has, in conſequence, been always acknowledged the inventor and father. Father Brumoi, in a diſſertation which abounds with wit and good ſenſe, explains the manner in which Æſchylus conceived the true idea of tragedy from Homer's epic poems. That poet himſelf uſed to ſay, that his works were only copies in relievo of Homer's draughts in the Iliad and Odyſſey.

Tragedy therefore took a new form under him. He gave maſks§ to his actors, adorned them with robes and trains, and made them wear buſkins. Inſtead of a cart, he erected a theatre of a moderate extent, and entirely changed their ſtyle; which from being merry and burleſque, as at firſt, became majeſtic and ſerious.

But that was only the external part or body of tragedy. Its ſoul, which was the moſt important and eſſential addition of Æſchylus, conſiſted in the vivacity and ſpirit of the action, ſuſtained by the dialogue of the perſons of the drama introduced

* Plut. in Solon. p. 95. A.M. 3440. Ant. J.C. 564.
† A.M. 3464. Ant. J.C. 540. ‡ A.M. 3514. Ant. J.C. 490.
§ Poſt hunc perſonæ pallæque repertor honeſtæ
Æſchylus et modicis inſtravit pulpita tignis,
Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique cothurno. Hor. de Art. Poet.

by

by him; in the artful working up of the greater paſſions, eſpecially of terror and pity, that, by alternately afflicting and agitating the ſoul with mournful or terrible objects, produce a grateful pleaſure and delight from that very trouble and emotion; in the choice of a ſubject great, noble, affecting, and contained within the due bounds of time, place, and action: in fine, it is the conduct and diſpoſition of the whole piece, which, by the order and harmony of its parts, and the happy connexion of its incidents and intrigues, holds the mind of the ſpectator in ſuſpenſe till the cataſtrophe, and then reſtores him his tranquillity, and diſmiſſes him with ſatisfaction.

The chorus had been eſtabliſhed before Æſchylus, as it compoſed alone, or next to alone, what was then called tragedy. He did not therefore exclude it, but, on the contrary, thought fit to incorporate it, to ſing as chorus between the acts. Thus it ſupplied the interval of reſting, and was a kind of perſon of the drama, employed* either in giving uſeful counſels and ſalutary inſtructions, in eſpouſing the party of innocence and virtue, in being the depoſitory of ſecrets, and the avenger of violated religion, or to ſuſtain all thoſe characters at the ſame time, according to Horace. The coryphæus, or principal perſon of the chorus, ſpoke for the reſt.

In one of Æſchylus's pieces, called the Eumenides, the poet repreſents Oreſtes at the bottom of the ſtage, ſurrounded by the furies, laid aſleep by Apollo. Their figure muſt have been extremely horrible, as it is related, that upon their waking and appearing tumultuouſly on the theatre, where they were to act as a chorus, ſome women miſcarried with the ſurpriſe, and ſeveral children died of the fright. The chorus at that time conſiſted of fifty actors. After this accident it was reduced to fifteen by an expreſs law, and at length to twelve.

I have obſerved, that one of the alterations made by Æſchylus in tragedy, was the maſk worn by his actors. Theſe dramatic maſks had no reſemblance to ours, which only cover the face, but were a kind of caſe for the whole head, and which,

* Actoris partes chorus, officiumque virile
Defendat: neu quid medios intercinat actus,
Quod non propoſito conducat et hæreat aptè.
Ille bonis faveatque et conſilietur amicè:
Et regat iratos, et amet pacare tumentes:
Ille dapes laudet, menſæ brevis: Ille ſalubrem
Juſtitiam, legeſque, et apertis otia portis.
Ille tegat commiſſa, Deoſque precetur et oret,
Ut redeat miſeris, abeat Fortuna ſuperbis.

Hor. de Art. Poet.

beſides

beſides the features, repreſented the beard, the hair, the ears, and even the ornaments uſed by women in their head-dreſſes. Theſe maſks varied according to the different pieces that were acted. They are treated at large in a diſſertation of Mr. Boindin's, inſerted in the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles Lettres**.

I could never comprehend, as I have obſerved elſewhere† in ſpeaking of pronunciation, how maſks came to continue ſo long upon the ſtage of the ancients; for certainly they could not be uſed, without conſiderably flattening the ſpirit of the action, which is principally expreſſed in the countenance, the ſeat and mirror of what paſſes in the ſoul. Does it not often happen, that the blood, according to its being put in motion by different paſſions, ſometimes covers the face with a ſudden and modeſt bluſh, ſometimes outflames it with the heats of rage and fury, ſometimes retires, leaving it pale with fear, and at others, diffuſes a calm and amiable ſerenity over it? All theſe affections are ſtrongly imaged and diſtinguiſhed in the lineaments of the face. The maſk deprives the features of this energy of language, and of that life and ſoul by which it is the faithful interpreter of all the ſentiments of the heart. I do not wonder, therefore, at Cicero's remark upon the action of Roſcius‡. "Our anceſtors," ſays he, "were better judges "than we are. They could not wholly approve even Ro- "ſcius himſelf, whilſt he performed in a maſk."

Æſchylus was in the ſole poſſeſſion of the glory of the ſtage, with almoſt every voice in his favour, when a young rival made his appearance to diſpute the palm with him. This was Sophocles. He was born at Colonos, a town in Attica, in the ſecond year of the ſeventy-firſt Olympiad. His father was a blackſmith, or one who kept people of that trade to work for him. His firſt eſſay was a maſter-piece. When, upon the occaſion of Cymon's having found the bones of Theſeus, and their being brought to Athens, a diſpute between the tragic poets was appointed, Sophocles entered the liſts with Æſchylus, and carried the prize againſt him. The ancient victor, laden till then with the wreaths he had acquired, believed them all loſt by failing of the laſt, and withdrew in diſguſt into Sicily to king Hiero, the protector and patron of all the learned in diſgrace at Athens. He died there ſoon after in a very ſingular manner, if we may believe Suidas. As he lay aſleep in the fields, with his head bare, an eagle, taking his bald

* Vol. IV. † Manner of teaching, &c. Vol. IV.

‡ Quo melius noſtri illi ſenes, qui perſonatum, ne Roſcium, quidem, magnopere laudabant. Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 221.

crown

crown for a ſtone, let a tortoiſe fall upon it, which killed him. Of ninety, or at leaſt ſeventy tragedies, compoſed by him, only ſeven are now extant.

Nor have thoſe of Sophocles eſcaped the injury of time better, though one hundred and ſeventeen in number, and according to ſome one hundred and thirty. He retained, to extreme old age, all the force and vigour of his genius, as appears from a circumſtance in his hiſtory. His children, unworthy of ſo great a father, upon pretence that he had loſt his ſenſes, ſummoned him before the judges, in order to obtain a decree, that his eſtate might be taken from him and put into their hands. He made no other defence, than to read a tragedy he was at that time compoſing, called Œdipus at Colonos, with which the judges were ſo charmed, that he carried his cauſe unanimouſly; and his children, deteſted by the whole aſſembly, got nothing by their ſuit, but the ſhame and infamy of ſo flagrant an ingratitude. He was twenty times crowned victor. Some ſay he expired in repeating his Antigone, for want of power to recover his breath, after a violent endeavour to pronounce a long period to the end. Others, that he died of joy upon his being declared victor, contrary to his expectation. The figure of an hive was placed upon his tomb, to perpetuate the name of Bee, which had been given him, from the ſweetneſs of his verſes: whence it is probable, the notion was derived, of the bees having ſettled upon his lips, when in his cradle. He died in his ninetieth year*, the fourth of the ninety-third Olympiad, after having ſurvived Euripides ſix years, who was not ſo old as himſelf.

The latter was born in the firſt year of the ſeventy-fifth Olympiad†, at Salamin, whither his father Meneſarchus and mother Clito had retired when Xerxes was preparing for his great expedition againſt Greece. He applied himſelf at firſt to philoſophy, and, among others, had the celebrated Anaxagoras for his maſter. But the danger incurred by that great man, who was very near being made the victim of his philoſophical tenets, inclined him to the ſtudy of poetry. He diſcovered in himſelf a genius for the drama unknown to him at firſt; and employed it with ſuch ſucceſs that he entered the liſts with the greateſt maſters, of whom we have been ſpeaking. ‡ His works ſufficiently denote his profound application to philoſophy. They abound with excellent maxims of morali-

* A. M. 3599. Ant. J. C. 405. † A. M. 3524. Ant. J. C. 480.

‡ Sententiis denſus, et in iis quæ á ſapientibus ſunt pene ipſis eſt par. Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

ty;

ty; and it is in that view Socrates in his time, and * Cicero long after him, ſet ſo high a value upon Euripides.

One cannot ſufficiently admire the extreme delicacy expreſſed by the Athenian audience on certain occaſions, and their ſolicitude to preſerve the reverence due to morality, virtue, decency, and juſtice. It is ſurpriſing to obſerve the warmth with which they unanimouſly reproved whatever ſeemed inconſiſtent with them, and called the poet to an account for it, notwithſtanding his having the beſt founded excuſe, in giving ſuch ſentiments only to perſons notoriouſly vicious, and actuated by the moſt unjuſt paſſions.

Euripides had put into the mouth of Bellerophon a pompous panegyric upon riches, which concluded with this thought, "Riches are the ſupreme good of the human race, and with "reaſon excite the admiration of gods and men." The whole theatre cried out againſt theſe expreſſions, and he would have been baniſhed directly, if he had not deſired the ſentence to be reſpited till the concluſion of the piece, in which the advocate for riches periſhed miſerable.

He was in danger of incurring no common inconveniences from an anſwer he makes Hippolitus give his mother, upon her repreſenting to him, that he had engaged himſelf under an inviolable oath to keep her ſecret. "My tongue, it is true, "pronounced that oath," replied he, "but my heart gave no "conſent to it." This frivolous diſtinction appeared to the whole people, as an expreſs contempt of the religion and ſanctity of an oath, that tended to baniſh all ſincerity and faith from ſociety, and the commerce of life.

Another maxim † advanced by Eteocles in the tragedy called the Phœnicians, and which Cæſar had always in his mouth, is no leſs pernicious. "If juſtice may be violated at all, it is "when a throne is in queſtion; in other reſpects, let it be "duly revered." It is highly criminal in Eteocles, or rather in Euripides, ſays Cicero, to make an exception in that very point, wherein ſuch violation is the higheſt crime that can be committed. Eteocles is a tyrant, and ſpeaks like a tyrant, who vindicates his unjuſt conduct by a falſe maxim; and it is

* Cui (Euripidi) quantum credas neſcio; ego certe ſingulos ejus verſus ſingula teſtimonia puto. Epiſt. viii. l. 14. ad Famil.

† Ipſe autem ſocer (Cæſar) in ore ſemper Græcos verſus Euripides, de Phœniſſis habebat, quos dicam ut potero, inconditè fortaſſe, ſed tamen ut res poſſit intelligi. Nam, ſi violandum eſt jus, regnandi gratiâ violandum eſt; aliis rebus pietatem colas. Capitalis Eteocles, vel potiùs Euripides, qui id unum quod omnium ſceleratiſſimum fuerat exceperit. Offic. l. iii. n. 82.

not

not ſtrange, that Cæſar, who was a tyrant by nature, and equally unjuſt, ſhould apply the ſentiments of a prince, whom he ſo much reſembled. But what is remarkable in Cicero, is his falling upon the poet himſelf, and imputing to him as a crime, the having advanced ſo pernicious a principle upon the ſtage.

*Lycurgus, the orator, who lived in the time of Philip and Alexander the Great, to re-animate the ſpirit of the tragic poets, cauſed three ſtatues of braſs to be erected in the name of the people to Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and having ordered their works to be tranſcribed, he appointed them to be carefully preſerved among the public archives, from whence they were taken from time to time to be read; the players not being permitted to repreſent them on the ſtage.

The reader expects no doubt, after what has been ſaid upon the three poets, who invented, improved, and carried tragedy to its perfection, that I ſhould obſerve upon the particular excellencies of their ſtyle and character. For that I muſt refer to father Brumoi, who will do it much better than it is in my power. After having laid down, as an undoubted principle, that the epic poem, that is to ſay, Homer, pointed out the way for the tragic poets, and having demonſtrated, by reflections drawn from human nature, upon what principles, and by what degrees, this happy imitation was conducted to its end, he goes on to deſcribe the three poets, upon whom he treats in the moſt lively and ſhining colours.

Tragedy took at firſt from Æſchylus, its inventor, a much more lofty ſtyle than the Iliad: that is, the *magnum loqui* mentioned by Horace. Perhaps Æſchylus, who was its author, was too pompous, and carried the tragic ſtyle too high. It is not Homer's trumpet, but ſomething more. His ſounding, ſwelling, gigantic diction, reſembles rather the beating of drums and the ſhouts of battle, than the nobler harmony and ſilver ſound of the trumpet. The elevation and grandeur of his genius would not admit him to ſpeak the language of other men, ſo that his muſe ſeemed rather to walk in ſtilts, than in the buſkins of his own invention.

Sophocles underſtood much better the true excellence of the dramatic ſtyle: he therefore copies Homer more cloſely, and blends in his diction that honeyed ſweetneſs, from whence he was denominated *the Bee*, with a gravity that gives his tra-

* Plut. in vit. x. orat. p. 841.

gedy

gedy the modeſt air of a matron, compelled to appear in public with dignity, as Horace expreſſes it.

The ſtyle of Euripides, though noble, is leſs removed from the familiar; and he ſeems to have affected rather the pathetic and the elegant, than the nervous and the lofty.

As Corneille, ſays Mr. Brumoi in another place, after having opened to himſelf a path entirely new and unknown to the ancients, ſeems like an eagle towering in the clouds, from the ſublimity, force, unbroken progreſs, and rapidity of his flight; and as Racine, in copying the ancients in a manner entirely his own, imitates the ſwan, that ſometimes floats upon the air, ſometimes riſes, then falls again with an excellence of motion and a grace peculiar to herſelf; ſo Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, have each of them a particular tour and method. The firſt, as the inventor and father of tragedy, is like a torrent rolling impetuouſly over rocks, foreſts, and precipices; the ſecond reſembles a * canal, which flows gently through delicious gardens; and the third a river, that does not follow its courſe in a continued line, but loves to turn and wind his ſilver wave through flowery meads and rural ſcenes.

Mr. Brumoi gives this character of the three poets, to whom the Athenian ſtage was indebted for its perfection in tragedy. † Æſchylus drew it out of its original chaos and confuſion, and made it appear in ſome degree of luſtre; but it ſtill retained the rude unfiniſhed air of things in their beginning, which are generally defective in point of art and method. Sophocles and Euripides added infinitely to the dignity of tragedy. The ſtyle of the firſt, as has been obſerved, is more noble and majeſtic; of the latter, more tender and pathetic; each perfect in their way. In this diverſity of character it is difficult to reſolve which is moſt excellent. The learned have always been divided upon this head; as we are at this day, in regard to the two poets of our own nation, whoſe tragedies have made our ſtage illuſtrious, and not inferior to that of Athens.

* I cannot tell whether the idea of *a canal, that flows gently through delicious gardens*, may properly imply the character of Sophocles, which is peculiarly diſtinguiſhed by nobleneſs, grandeur, and elevation. That of an impetuous and rapid ſtream, whoſe waves, from the violence of their motion, are loud, and to be heard afar off, ſeems to me to be a more ſuitable image of that poet.

† Tragœdias primus in lucem Æſchylus protulit: ſublimis, et gravis, et grandiloquus ſæpe uſque ad vitium; ſed rudis in pleriſque et incompoſitus. Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

I have obſerved, that the tender and pathetic diſtinguiſhes the compoſitions of Euripides, of which Alexander of Pheræ, the moſt cruel of tyrants, was a proof. That barbarous man, upon ſeeing the Troades of Euripides acted, found himſelf ſo moved with it, that he quitted the theatre before the concluſion of the play; profeſſing, that he was aſhamed to be ſeen in tears for the diſtreſs of Hercules and Andromache, who had never ſhewn the leaſt compaſſion for his own citizens, of whom he had butchered ſuch numbers.

When I ſpeak of the tender and pathetic, I would not be underſtood to mean a paſſion that ſoftens the heart into effeminacy, and which, to our reproach, is almoſt only received upon our ſtage, though rejected by the ancients, and condemned by the nations around us of greateſt reputation for their genius, and taſte of the ſciences and polite learning. The two great principles for moving the paſſions among the ancients, were terror and pity*. And indeed, as we naturally determine every thing from its relation to ourſelves, or our particular intereſt, when we ſee perſons of exalted rank or virtue ſinking under great evils, the fear of the like misfortunes, with which we know that human life is on all ſides inveſted, ſeizes upon us, and from a ſecret impulſe of ſelf-love, we find ourſelves ſenſibly affected with the diſtreſſes of others: beſides which, the ſharing a common † nature with the reſt of our ſpecies, makes us ſenſible to whatever befals them. Upon a cloſe and attentive inquiry into thoſe two paſſions, they will be found the moſt important, active, extenſive, and general affections of the ſoul; including all orders of men, great and ſmall, rich and poor, of whatever age or condition. Hence the ancients, accuſtomed to conſult nature, and to take her for their guide in all things, conceived terror and compaſſion to be the ſoul of tragedy; and for that reaſon, that thoſe affections ought to prevail in it. The paſſion of love was in no eſtimation among them, and had ſeldom any ſhare in their dramatic pieces; though with us it is a received opinion, that they cannot be ſupported without it.

It is worth our trouble to examine briefly in what manner this paſſion, which has always been deemed a weakneſs and a blemiſh in the greateſt characters, got ſuch footing upon our ſtage. Corneille, who was the firſt who brought the French tragedy to any perfection, and whom all the reſt have followed, found the whole nation enamoured to madneſs of romances,

* φόβος καὶ ἔλεος.

† Homo ſum: humani nihil à me alienum puto. TER.

and

and little diſpoſed to admire any thing not reſembling them. From the deſire of pleaſing his audience, who were at the ſame time his judges, he endeavoured to move them in the manner they had been accuſtomed to be affected; and, by introducing love in his ſcenes, to bring them the nearer to the predominant taſte of the age for romance. From the ſame ſource aroſe that multiplicity of incidents, epiſodes, and adventures, with which our tragic pieces are crowded and obſcured; ſo contrary to probability, which will not admit ſuch a number of extraordinary and ſurpriſing events in the ſhort ſpace of four-and-twenty hours; ſo contrary to the ſimplicity of ancient tragedy; and ſo adapted to conceal, in the aſſemblage of ſo many different objects, the ſterility of the genius of a poet, more intent upon the marvellous, than upon the probable and natural.

Both the Greeks and Romans have preferred the iambic to the heroic verſe in their tragedies; not only as at the firſt it has a kind of dignity better adapted to the ſtage, but whilſt it approaches nearer to proſe, retains ſufficiently the air of poetry to pleaſe the ear; and yet has too little of it to put the audience in mind of the poet, who ought not to appear at all in repreſentations, where other perſons are ſuppoſed to ſpeak and act. Monſieur Dacier makes a very juſt reflection in this reſpect. He ſays, that it is the misfortune of our tragedy to have almoſt no other verſe than what it has in common with epic poetry, elegy, paſtoral, ſatyr, and comedy; whereas the learned languages have a great variety of verſification.

This inconvenience is highly obvious in our tragedy; which cannot avoid being removed by it from the natural and probable, as it obliges heroes, princes, kings, and queens, to expreſs themſelves in a pompous ſtrain in their familiar converſation, which it would be ridiculous to attempt in real life. The giving utterance to the moſt impetuous paſſions in an uniform cadence, and by hemiſtics and rhymes, would undoubtedly be tedious and offenſive to the ear, if the charms of poetry, the elegance of expreſſion, and the ſpirit of the ſentiments, and perhaps, more than all of them, the reſiſtleſs force of cuſtom, had not in a manner ſubjected our reaſon, and illuded our judgment.

It was not chance, therefore, which ſuggeſted to the Greeks the uſe of iambics in their tragedy. Nature itſelf ſeems to have dictated that kind of verſe to them. Inſtructed by the ſame unerring guide, they made choice of a different verſification for the chorus, more capable of affecting, and of being ſung; becauſe it was neceſſary for the poetry to ſhine out in

all its luſtre, whilſt the free converſation between the real actors was ſuſpended. The chorus was an embelliſhment of the repreſentation, and a relaxation of the audience, and therefore required more exalted poetry and numbers to ſupport it, when united with muſic and dancing.

OF THE ANCIENT, MIDDLE, AND NEW COMEDY.

Whilſt tragedy aroſe in this manner at Athens, comedy, the ſecond ſpecies of dramatic poetry, and which, till then, had been much neglected, began to be cultivated with more attention. Nature was the common parent of both. We are ſenſibly affected with the dangers, diſtreſſes, misfortunes, and, in a word, with whatever relates to the lives and conduct of illuſtrious perſons; and this gave birth to tragedy. And we are as curious to know the adventures, conduct, and defects of our equals; which ſupply us with occaſions of laughing, and being merry at the expence of others. Hence comedy derives itſelf; which is properly an image of private life. Its deſign is to expoſe defects and vices upon the ſtage, and, by affixing ridicule to them, to make them contemptible; and, conſequently, to inſtruct by diverting. Ridicule, therefore, or, to expreſs the ſame word by another, Pleaſantry, ought to prevail in comedy.

This poem took at different times three different forms at Athens, as well from the genius of the poets, as from the influence of the government; which occaſioned various alterations in it.

The ancient comedy, ſo called by Horace*, and which he dates after the time of Æſchylus, retained ſomething of its original rudeneſs, and the liberty it had been uſed to take of buffooning and reviling the ſpectators from the cart of Theſpis. Though it was become regular in its plan, and worthy of a great theatre, it had not learned to be more reſerved. It repreſented real tranſactions, with the names, habits, geſtures, and likeneſs in maſks, of whomſoever it thought fit to ſacrifice to the public diverſion. In a ſtate where it was held good policy to unmaſk whatever carried the air of ambition, ſingularity, or knavery, comedy aſſumed the privilege to harangue, reform, and adviſe the people upon the moſt important occaſions and intereſts. Nothing was ſpared in a city of ſo much liberty, or rather licence, as Athens was at that time. Gene-

* Succeſſit vetus his Comœdia non ſine multa
Laude. HOR. in Art. Poet.

rals,

rals, magiſtrates, government, the very gods, were abandoned to the poet's ſatyrical vein; and all was well received, provided the comedy was diverting, and the Attic ſalt not wanting.

*In one of theſe comedies, not only the prieſt of Jupiter determines to quit his ſervice, becauſe more ſacrifices are not offered to the god, but Mercury himſelf comes in a ſtarving condition, to ſeek his fortune amongſt mankind, and offers to ſerve as a porter, ſutler, bailiff, guide, door-keeper; in ſhort, in any capacity, rather than to return to heaven. In another†, the ſame gods in extreme want and neceſſity, from the birds having built a city in the air, whereby their proviſions are cut off, and the ſmoke of incenſe and ſacrifices prevented from aſcending to heaven, depute three ambaſſadors in the name of Jupiter to conclude a treaty of accommodation with the birds, upon ſuch conditions as they ſhall approve. The chamber of audience, where the three famiſhed gods are received, is a kitchen well-ſtored with excellent game of all ſorts. Here Hercules, deeply ſmitten with the ſmell of roaſt-meat, which he apprehends to be more exquiſite and nutrious than that of incenſe, begs leave to make his abode, and to turn the ſpit, and aſſiſt the cook upon occaſion. The other pieces of Ariſtophanes abound with ſtrokes ſtill more ſatyrical and ſevere upon the principal divinities.

I am not much ſurpriſed at the poet's inſulting the gods, and treating them with the utmoſt contempt, from whom he had nothing to fear: but I cannot help wondering at his having brought the moſt illuſtrious and powerful perſons of Athens upon the ſtage, and that he preſumed to attack the government itſelf, without any manner of reſpect or reſerve.

Cleon, having returned triumphant, contrary to the general expectation, from the expedition againſt Sphacteria, was looked upon by the people as the greateſt captain of that age. Ariſtophanes, to ſet that bad man in a true light, who was the ſon of a currier, and a currier himſelf, and whoſe riſe was owing ſolely to his temerity and impudence, was ſo bold as to make him the ſubject of a comedy‡, without being awed by his power and reputation: but he was obliged to play the part of Cleon himſelf, and appeared for the firſt time upon the ſtage in that character; not one of the comedians daring to repreſent him, nor expoſe himſelf to the reſentment of ſo formidable an enemy. His face was ſmeared over with wine-

* Plutus. † The Birds. ‡ The Knights.

lees; becauſe no workman could be found, that would venture to make a maſk reſembling Cleon, as was uſual when perſons were brought upon the ſtage. In this piece he reproaches him with embezzling the public treaſures, with a violent paſſion for bribes and preſents, with craft in ſeducing the people, and denies him the glory of the action at Sphacteria, which he attributes chiefly to the ſhare his colleague had in it.

In the *Acharnians*, he accuſes Lamachus of having been made general, rather by bribery than merit. He imputes to him his youth, inexperience, and idleneſs; at the ſame time, that he, and many others, convert to their own uſe the rewards due only to valour and real ſervices. He reproaches the republic with their preference of the younger citizens to the elder in the government of the ſtate, and the command of armies. He tells them plainly, that when the peace ſhall be concluded, neither Cleonymus, Hyperbolus, nor many other ſuch knaves, all mentioned by name, ſhall have any ſhare in the public affairs; they being always ready to accuſe their fellow-citizens of crimes, and to enrich themſelves by ſuch informations.

In his comedy called the *Waſps*, imitated by Racine in his *Plaideurs*, he expoſes the mad paſſion of the people for proſecutions and trials at law, and the enormous injuſtice frequently committed in paſſing ſentence and giving judgment.

The poet*, concerned to ſee the republic obſtinately bent upon the unhappy expedition to Sicily, endeavours to excite in the people a final diſguſt for ſo ruinous a war, and to inſpire them with the deſire of a peace, as much the intereſt of the victors as the vanquiſhed, after a war of ſeveral years duration, equally pernicious to each party, and capable of involving all Greece in ruin.

None of Ariſtophanes's pieces explains better his boldneſs, in ſpeaking upon the moſt delicate affairs of the ſtate in the crowded theatre, than his comedy called *Lyſiſtrata*. One of the principal magiſtrates of Athens had a wife of that name, who is ſuppoſed to have taken it into her head to compel Greece to conclude a peace. She relates, how, during the war, the women inquiring of their huſbands the reſult of their counſels, and whether they had not reſolved to make peace with Sparta, received no anſwers but imperious looks, and orders to meddle with their own affairs: that, however, they perceived plainly to what a low condition the government was

* The Peace.

declined:

declined: that they took the liberty to remonſtrate mildly to their huſbands upon the raſhneſs of their counſels; but that their humble repreſentations had no other effect than to offend and enrage them: that, in fine, being confirmed by the general opinion of all Attica, that there were no longer any men in the ſtate, nor heads for the adminiſtration of affairs, their patience being quite exhauſted, the women had thought it proper and adviſeable to take the government upon themſelves, and preſerve Greece, whether it would or no, from the folly and madneſs of its reſolves. "For her part, ſhe de-"clares, that ſhe has taken poſſeſſion of the city and treaſury, "in order," ſays ſhe, "to prevent Piſander and his confeder-"ates, the four hundred adminiſtrators, from exciting troubles "according to their cuſtom, and from robbing the public as "uſual." Was ever any thing ſo bold? She goes on with proving, that the women only are capable of retrieving affairs, by this burleſque argument; that admitting things to be in ſuch a ſtate of perplexity and confuſion, the ſex, accuſtomed to untangling their threads, were the only perſons to ſet them right again, as being beſt qualified with the neceſſary addreſs, temper, and moderation. The Athenian politics are thus made inferior to the abilities of the women, which are only repreſented in a ridiculous light, to turn the deriſion upon their huſbands in the adminiſtration of the government.

Theſe extracts from Ariſtophanes, taken almoſt word for word from father Brumoi, ſeemed to me very proper for a right underſtanding at once of that poet's character, and the genius of the ancient comedy, which was, as we ſee, a true ſatire of the moſt poignant and ſevere kind, that had aſſumed to itſelf an independency from reſpect to perſons, and to which nothing was ſacred. It is no wonder that Cicero condemns ſo licentious and exceſſive a liberty. * It might, he ſays, have been tolerable, had it only attacked bad citizens, and ſeditious orators, who endeavoured to raiſe commotions in that ſtate, ſuch as Cleon, Cleophon, and Hyperbolus; but when a Pericles, who for many years had governed the commonwealth both in war and peace with equal wiſdom and authority, he

* Quem illa non attigit, vel potius quem non vexavit? Eſto, populares homines, improbus, in remp. ſeditioſos, Cleonem, Cleophontem, Hyperbolum læſit: patiamur—Sed Periclem, cum jam fuæ civitati maxima auctoritate plurimos annos domi et belli præfuiſſet, violari verſibus, et eos agi in ſcena, non plus decuit, quam ſi Plautus noſter voluiſſet, aut Nævius P. et Cn. Scipioni, aut Cæcilius M. Catoni maledicere. Ex fragm. de Rep. Lb. iv.

might

might have added, and a Socrates declared by Apollo the wiſeſt of mankind, are brought upon the ſtage to be laughed at by the public, it is as if our Plautus, or Nævius, had fallen upon the Scipios, or Cæcilius reviled Marcus Cato in his writings.

That liberty is ſtill more offenſive to us, who are born in and live under a monarchical government, which is far from being favourable to licence. But without intending to juſtify the conduct of Ariſtophanes, which, to judge properly of it, is inexcuſable, I think it would be neceſſary to lay aſide the prejudices of nature, nations, and times, and to imagine we live in thoſe remote ages in a ſtate purely democratical. We muſt not fancy Ariſtophanes to have been a perſon of little conſequence in his republic, as the comic writers generally are in our days. The king of Perſia had a very different idea of him. * It is a known ſtory, that in an audience of the Greek ambaſſadors, his firſt inquiry was after a certain comic poet, meaning Ariſtophanes, that put all Greece in motion, and gave ſuch effectual counſels againſt him. Ariſtophanes did that upon the ſtage, which Demoſthenes did afterwards in the public aſſemblies. The poet's reproaches were no leſs animated than the orator's. His comedies ſpoke a language that became the councils of the republic. It was addreſſed to the ſame people, upon the ſame occaſions of the ſtate, the ſame means to ſucceſs, and the ſame obſtacles to their meaſures. In Athens the whole people were the ſovereign, and each of them had an equal ſhare in the ſupreme authority. Upon this they were continually intent, were fond of diſcourſing themſelves, and of hearing the ſentiments of others. The public affairs were the buſineſs of every individual; in which they were deſirous of being fully informed, that they might know how to conduct themſelves on every occaſion of war or peace, which frequently offered, and to diſtinguiſh upon their own, as well as upon the deſtiny of their allies, or enemies. Hence roſe the liberty, taken by the comic poets, of introducing the affairs of the ſtate into their performances. The people were ſo far from being offended at it, or at the manner in which thoſe writers treated the principal perſons of the ſtate, that they conceived their liberty in ſome meaſure to conſiſt in it.

Three * perſons particularly excelled in the ancient comedy;

* Ariſtoph. in Acharn.

† Eupolis atque Cratinus, Ariſtophaneſque poëtæ,
Atque alii, quorum Comœdia priſca virorum eſt,

Eupolis,

Eupolis, Cratinus, and Ariſtophanes. The laſt is the only one of them, whoſe pieces have come entire down to us, and, out of the great number of thoſe, eleven are all that remain. He flouriſhed in an age when Greece abounded with great men, and was cotemporary with Socrates and Euripides, whom he ſurvived. During the Peloponneſian war, he made his greateſt figure; leſs as a writer to amuſe the people with his comedies, than as a cenſor of the government, retained to reform the ſtate, and to be almoſt the arbiter of his country.

He is admired for an elegance, poignancy, and happineſs of expreſſion, or, in a word, that attic ſalt and ſpirit, to which the Roman language could never attain, and for which *Ariſtophanes is more remarkable than any other of the Greek authors. His particular excellence was raillery. None ever touched the ridicule in characters with ſuch ſucceſs, or knew better how to convey it in all its full force to others. But it were neceſſary to have lived in his times for a right taſte of his works. The ſubtle ſalt and ſpirit of the ancient raillery, according to Mr. Brumoi, is evaporated through length of time, and what remains of it is become flat and inſipid to us; tho' the ſharpeſt part will retain its vigour throughout all ages.

Two conſiderable defects are juſtly imputed to this poet, which very much obſcure, if not entirely efface his glory. Theſe are, low buffoonery, and groſs obſcenity; which objections have been oppoſed to no purpoſe from the character of his audience; the bulk of which generally conſiſted of the poor, the ignorant, and dregs of the people, whom however it was as neceſſary to pleaſe, as the learned and the rich. The depravity of the inferior people's taſte, which once baniſhed Cratinus and his company, becauſe his ſcenes were not groſsly comic enough for them, is no excuſe for Ariſtophanes, as Menander could find out the art of changing that groveling taſte, by introducing a ſpecies of comedy, not altogether ſo modeſt as Plutarch ſeems to inſinuate, yet much chaſter than any before his time.

The groſs obſcenities, with which all Ariſtophanes's comedies abound, have no excuſe; they only denote an exceſſive libertiniſm in the ſpectators, and depravity in the poet. The

> Si quis erat dignus deſcribi, quod malus ac fur,
> Quod mœchus foret, aut ſicarius, aut alioqui
> Famoſus; multa cum libertate notabant.
>
> HOR. Sat. IV. l. 1.

* Antiqua comœdia ſinceram illam ſermonis Attici gratiam prope ſola retinet. Quintil.

utmoſt

utmoſt ſalt that could have been beſtowed upon them, which, however, is not the caſe, would not have atoned for laughing himſelf, or for making others laugh at the expence of decency and good manners*. And in this caſe it may well be ſaid, that it were better to have no wit at all, than to make ſo ill a uſe of it†. Mr. Brumio is very much to be commended for his having taken care, in giving a general idea of Ariſtophanes's writings, to throw a veil over thoſe parts of them, that might have given offence to modeſty. Though ſuch behaviour be the indiſpenſable rule of religion, it is not always obſerved by thoſe who pique themſelves moſt on their erudition, and ſometimes prefer the title of Scholar to that of Chriſtian.

The ancient comedy ſubſiſted till Lyſander's time, who, upon having made himſelf maſter of Athens, changed the form of the government, and put it into the hands of thirty of the principal citizens. The ſatyrical liberty of the theatre was offenſive to them, and therefore they thought fit to put a ſtop to it. The reaſon of this alteration is evident, and makes good the reflection made before upon the privilege of the poets, to criticiſe with impunity upon the perſons at the head of the eſtate. The whole authority of Athens was then inveſted in tyrants. The democracy was aboliſhed. The people had no longer any ſhare in the government. They were no more the prince; their ſovereignty had expired. The right of giving their opinions and ſuffrages upon affairs of ſtate was at an end; nor dared they either in their own perſons or by the poets, preſume to cenſure the ſentiments and conduct of their maſters. The calling perſons by their names upon the ſtage was prohibited: but the poetical ſpirit ſoon found the ſecret to elude the intention of the law, and to make itſelf amends for the reſtraint it ſuffered in the neceſſity of uſing feigned names. It then applied to the diſcovery of the ridicule in known characters, which it copied to the life, and from thence acquired the double advantage of gratifying the vanity of the poets, and the malice of the audience in a more refined manner: the one had the delicate pleaſure of putting the ſpectators upon gueſſing their meaning, and the other of not being miſtaken in their ſuppoſitions, and of affixing the right name to the characters repreſented. Such was the comedy, ſince called the *Middle Comedy*, of which there are ſome inſtances in Ariſtophanes.

* Nimium riſus pretium eſt, ſi probibatis impendio conſtat. Quint. l. vi. c. iii.

† Non pejus duxerim tardi ingenii eſſe quam mali. Quintil. lib. i. c. 3.

It

It continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who, having entirely assured himself of the empire of Greece by the defeat of the Thebans, occasioned the putting a check upon the licence of the poets, which increased daily. From thence the *New Comedy* took its birth, which was only an imitation of private life, and brought nothing upon the stage of feigned names, and supposititious adventures.

This may properly be called fine comedy, and is that of Menander. Of one hundred and eighty, or rather eighty, according to Suidas, composed by him, all of which Terence is said to have translated, there remains only a few fragments. The merit of the originals may be judged from the excellence of their copy. Quintilian, in speaking of Menander, is not afraid to say, that with the beauty of his works, and the height of his reputation, he obscured, or rather obliterated, the fame of all the writers in the same way. He observes in another passage, that his own times were not so *just to his merit as they ought to have been, which has been the fate of many others; but that he was sufficiently made amends by the favourable opinion of posterity. And indeed Philemon, a comic poet of the same age, though prior to him, was preferred before him.

THE THEATRE OF THE ANCIENTS DESCRIBED.

I have already observed, that Æschylus was the first founder of a fixed and durable theatre adorned with suitable decorations. It was at first, as well as the amphitheatres, composed of wooden planks; but those breaking down, by having too great a weight upon them, the Athenians, excessively enamoured of dramatic representations, were induced by that accident to erect those superb structures, which were imitated afterwards with so much splendor by the Roman magnificence. What I shall say of them, has almost as much relation to the Roman as the Athenian theatres, and is extracted entirely from Mr. Boindin's learned dissertation upon the theatre of the ancients†, who has treated the subject in all its extent.

The theatre of the ancients was divided into three principal parts; each of which had its peculiar appellation. The division for the actors was called in general the scene, or stage; that for the spectators was particularly termed the theatre, which must have been of vast extent‡, as at Athens it was ca-

* Quidam, sicut Menander, justiora posterorum, quam suæ ætatis, judicia sunt consecuti. Quintil. lib. c. 6.

† Memoirs of the Acad. of Inscript. &c. vol. I. p. 136, &c.

‡ Strab. l. ix. p. 393. Herod. l. viii. c. 65.

pable

pable of containing above thirty thouſand perſons; and the orcheſtra, which amongſt the Greeks was the place aſſigned for the pantomimes and dancers, though at Rome it was appropriated to the Senators and veſtal virgins.

The theatre was of a ſemicircular form on one ſide, and ſquare on the other. The ſpace contained within the ſemicircle was allotted to the ſpectators, and had ſeats placed one above another to the top of the building. The ſquare part, in the front of it, was the actors' diviſion; and in the interval, between both, was the orcheſtra.

The great theatres had three rows of porticoes, raiſed one upon another, which formed the body of the edifice, and at the ſame time three different ſtories for the ſeats. From the higheſt of thoſe porticoes the women ſaw the repreſentation, covered from the weather. The reſt of the theatre was uncovered, and all the buſineſs of the ſtage was performed in the open air.

Each of theſe ſtories conſiſted of nine rows of ſeats, including the landing-place, which divided them from each other, and ſerved as a paſſage from ſide to ſide. But as this landing-place and paſſage took up the ſpace of two benches, there were only ſeven to ſit upon, and conſequently in each ſtory there were ſeven rows of ſeats. They were from fifteen to eighteen inches in height, and twice as much in breadth; ſo that the ſpectators had room to ſit with their legs extended, and without being incommoded by thoſe of the people above them, no foot-boards being provided for them.

Each of theſe ſtories of benches were divided in two different manners; in their height by the landing-places, called by the Romans *Præcinctiones*, and in their circumferences by ſeveral ſtair-caſes, peculiar to each ſtory, which, interſecting them in right lines, tending towards the centre of the theatre, gave the form of wedges to the quantity of ſeats between them, from whence they were called *Cunei*.

Behind theſe ſtories of ſeats were covered-galleries, through which the people thronged into the theatre by great ſquare openings, contrived for that purpoſe in the walls next the ſeats. Thoſe openings were called *Vomitoria*, from the multitude of the people crowding through them into their places.

As the actors could not be heard to the extremity of the theatre, the Greeks contrived a means to ſupply that defect, and to augment the force of the voice, and make it more diſtinct and articulate. For that purpoſe they invented a kind of large veſſels of copper, which were diſpoſed under the ſeats

of

of the theatre, in such a manner, as make all sounds strike upon the ear with more force and distinction.

The orchestra being situated, as I have observed, between the two other parts of the theatre, of which one was circular, and the other square, it participated of the form of each, and occupied the space between both. It was divided into three parts.

The first and most considerable was more particularly called the orchestra, from a Greek word* that signifies to dance. It was appropriated to the pantomimes and dancers, and to all such subaltern actors as played between the acts, and at the end of the representations.

The second was named θυμέλη, from its being square, in the form of an altar. Here the chorus was generally placed.

And in the third the Greeks generally bestowed their symphony, or band of music. They called it ὑποσκήνιον, from its being situated at the bottom of the principal part of the theatre, which they stiled the scenes.

I shall describe here this third part of the theatre, called the scenes; which was also subdivided into three different parts.

The first and most considerable was properly called the scenes, and gave name to this whole division. It occupied the whole front of the building from side to side, and was the place allotted for the decorations. This front had two small wings at its extremity, from which hung a large curtain, that was let down to open the scene, and drawn up between the acts, when any thing in the representation made it necessary.

The second, called by the Greeks indifferently προσκήνιον, and λογεῖον, and by the Romans *Proscenium*, and *Pulpitum*, was a large open space in front of the scene, in which the actors performed their parts, and which, by the help of the decorations, represented either the public place or forum, a common street, or the country; but the place so represented was always in the open air.

The third division was a part reserved behind the scenes, and called by the Greeks παρασκήνιον. Here the actors dressed themselves, and the decorations were locked up. In the same place were also kept the machines, of which the ancients had abundance in their theatres.

As only the porticoes and the building of the scene were roofed, it was necessary to draw sails, fastened with cords to masts, over the rest of the theatre, to screen the audience from

* Ὀρχεῖσθαι.

the heat of the ſun. But as this contrivance did not prevent the heat, occaſioned by the perſpiration and breath of ſo numerous an aſſembly, the ancients took care to allay it by a kind of rain; conveying the water for that uſe above the porticoes, which falling again in form of dew through an infinity of ſmall pores concealed in the ſtatues, with which the theatre abounded, did not only diffuſe a grateful coolneſs all around, but the moſt fragrant exhalations along with it; for this dew was always perfumed. Whenever the repreſentations were interrupted by ſtorms, the ſpectators retired into the porticoes behind the ſeats of the theatre.

The paſſion of the Athenians for repreſentations of this kind is not conceivable. Their eyes, their ears, their imagination, their underſtanding, all ſhared in the ſatisfaction. Nothing gave them ſo ſenſible a pleaſure in dramatic performances, either tragic or comic, as the ſtrokes which were aimed at the affairs of the public; whether pure chance occaſioned the application, or the addreſs of the poets, who knew how to reconcile the moſt remote ſubjects with the tranſactions of the republic. They entered by that means into the intereſts of the people, took occaſion to ſooth their paſſions, authoriſe their pretenſions, juſtify, and ſometimes condemn, their conduct, entertain them with agreeable hopes, inſtruct them in their duty in certain nice conjunctures; in effect of which they often not only acquired the applauſes of the ſpectators, but credit and influence in the public affairs and councils: hence the theatre became ſo grateful, and ſo much the concern of the people. It was in this manner, according to ſome authors, that Euripides artfully reconciled his tragedy of * Palamedes with the ſentence paſſed againſt Socrates, and explained, by an illuſtrious example of antiquity, the innocence of a philoſopher, oppreſſed by a vile malignity ſupported againſt him by power and faction.

Accident was often the occaſion of ſudden and unforeſeen applications, which, from their appoſitneſs, were very agreeable to the people. Upon this verſe of Æſchylus in praiſe of Amphiaraus,

———'Tis his deſire
Not to appear, but be the great and good,

the whole audience roſe up, and unanimouſly applied it to Ariſtides †. The ſame thing happened to Philopœmen at the

* It is not certain whether this piece was prior or poſterior to the death of Socrates.

† Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 320.

Nemæan

Nemæan games. At the inſtant he entered the theatre, theſe verſes were ſinging upon the ſtage:

———He comes, to whom we owe
Our liberty, the nobleſt good below.

All the Greeks caſt their eyes upon Philopœmen*, and, with clapping of hands, and acclamations of joy, expreſſed their veneration for the hero.

†In the ſame manner at Rome, during the baniſhment of Cicero, when ſome verſes of ‡ Accius, which reproached the Greeks with their ingratitude in ſuffering the baniſhment of Telamon, were repeated by Æſop, the beſt actor of his time, they drew tears from the eyes of the whole aſſembly.

Upon another, though very different, occaſion, the Roman people applied to Pompey the Great ſome verſes to this effect,

§ 'Tis our unhappineſs has made thee great;

and then addreſſing to the people—

The time ſhall come when you ſhall late deplore
So great a power confided to ſuch hands:

The ſpectators obliged the actor to repeat theſe verſes ſeveral times.

PASSION FOR THE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE THEATRE, ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF THE DEGENERACY AND CORRUPTION OF THE ATHENIAN STATE.

When we compare the happy times of Greece (in which Europe and Aſia reſounded with nothing but the fame of the Athenian victories) with the later ages, when the power of Philip and Alexander the Great had in a manner ſubjected it, we ſhall be ſurpriſed at the ſtrange alteration in the affairs of that republic. But what is moſt material, is the knowledge of the cauſes and progreſs of this declenſion; and theſe Mr. de Tourreil has diſcuſſed in an admirable manner in the preface to his tranſlation of Demoſthenes's orations.

There was no longer at Athens any traces of that manly and vigorous policy, equally capable of planning good, and retrieving bad ſucceſs. Inſtead of that, there remained only an inconſiſtent loftineſs, apt to evaporate in pompous decrees. They were no more thoſe Athenians, who, when menaced by a deluge of Barbarians, demoliſhed their houſes to build ſhips with the timber, and whoſe women ſtoned the abject wretch

* Plut. in Philopœm. p. 362. † Cic. in Orat. pro Sext. n. 120. 123.
‡ O ingratifici Argivi, inanes Graii, immemores beneficii,
Exulare ſiviſtis, ſiviſtis pelli, pulſum patimini.
§ Cic. ad Attic. l. ii. Epiſ. 19. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 2.

to death, that propoſed to appeaſe the grand monarch by tribute of homage. The love of eaſe and pleaſure had almoſt entirely extinguiſhed that of glory, liberty, and independence.

Pericles, that great man, ſo abſolute, that thoſe who envied him treated him as a ſecond Piſiſtrates, was the author of this degeneracy and corruption. With the deſign of conciliating the favour of the people, he ordained, that upon ſuch days as games or ſacrifices were celebrated, a certain number of *oboli* ſhould be diſtributed among them; and that in the aſſemblies, in which affairs of ſtate were tranſacted, every individual ſhould receive a certain pecuniary gratification in right of preſence. Thus the members of the republic were ſeen for the firſt time to ſell their care in the adminiſtration of the government, and to rank among ſervile employments the moſt noble functions of the ſovereign power.

It was not difficult to foreſee where ſo exceſſive an abuſe would end; and to remedy it, it was propoſed to eſtabliſh a fund for the ſupport of a war, and to make it capital to adviſe, upon any account whatſoever, the application of it to other uſes: but, notwithſtanding, the abuſe always ſubſiſted. At firſt it ſeemed tolerable, whilſt the citizen, who was ſupported at the public expence, endeavoured to deſerve its liberality by doing his duty in the field for nine months together. Every one was to ſerve in his turn, and whoever failed was treated as a deſerter without diſtinction: But at length the number of the tranſgreſſors carried it againſt the law; and impunity, as it commonly happens, multiplied their number. People accuſtomed to the delightful abode of a city, where feaſts and games ran in a perpetual circle, conceived an invincible repugnance for labour and fatigue, which they looked upon as unworthy of free-born men.

It was therefore neceſſary to find amuſement for this indolent people, to fill up the great void of an inactive, uſeleſs life. Hence aroſe principally their paſſion or rather frenzy for public ſhows. The death of Epaminondas, which ſeemed to promiſe them the greateſt advantage, gave the final ſtroke to their ruin and deſtruction. "Their courage," ſays Juſtin *, "did "not ſurvive that illuſtrious Theban. Free from a rival, who "kept their emulation alive, they ſunk into a lethargic ſloth "and effeminacy. The funds for armaments by land and ſea "were ſoon laviſhed upon games and feaſts. The ſeamen's "and ſoldier's pay was diſtributed to the idle citizen, enervat-

* Juſtin. l. vi. c. 9.

"ed

" ed in ſoft luxurious habits of life. The repreſentations of " the theatre were preferred to the exerciſes of the camp. " Valour and military knowledge were entirely diſregarded. " Great captains were in no eſtimation ; whilſt good poets and " excellent comedians engroſſed the univerſal applauſe."

Extravagance of this kind makes it eaſy to comprehend in what multitudes the people thronged to the dramatic performances. As no expence was ſpared in embelliſhing them, exorbitant ſums were ſunk in the ſervice of the theatre. " If," ſays Plutarch *, " what each repreſentation of the dramatic pieces " coſt the Athenians were rightly calculated, it would appear, " that their expences in playing the Bacchanalians, the Phœ- " nicians, Œdipus, Antigone, Medea and Electra, tragedies " written either by Sophocles or Euripides, were greater than " thoſe which had been employed againſt the Barbarians in de- " fence of the liberty, and for the preſervation of Greece †." This gave a Spartan juſt reaſon to cry out, on ſeeing an eſtimate of the enormous ſums laid out in the diſputes of the tragic poets, and the extraordinary pains taken by the magiſtrates who preſided in them, " That a people muſt be void of ſenſe " to apply themſelves in ſo warm and ſerious a manner to things " ſo frivolous. For," added he, " games ſhould be only " games ; and nothing is more unreaſonable than to purchaſe " a ſhort and trivial amuſement at ſo great a price. Pleaſures " of this kind agree only with public rejoicings, and ſeaſons of " feſtivity, and were deſigned to divert people at their leiſure " hours ; but ſhould by no means interfere with the affairs of " the public, nor the neceſſary expences of the government."

" After all," ſays Plutarch, in a paſſage which I have already cited, " of what utility have theſe tragedies been to Athens, " though ſo much boaſted of by the people, and admired by the " reſt of the world ? We find, that the prudence of Themiſto- " cles encloſed the city with ſtrong walls ; that the fine taſte " and magnificence of Pericles improved and adorned it ; that " the noble fortitude of Miltiades preſerved its liberty ; and " that the moderate conduct of Cimon acquired it the empire " and government of all Greece." If the wiſe and learned poetry of Euripides, the ſublime diction of Sophocles, the lofty buſkin of Æſchylus, have obtained equal advantages for the city of Athens, by delivering it from impending calamities, or by adding to its glory, I conſent in Plutarch's words, that

* Plut. de glor. Athen. p. 394. † Plut. Sympoſ. l vii. queſt. vii. p. 710.

" dramatic pieces ſhould be ranked with trophies of victory, " the poetic pieces with the fields of battle, and the compoſi- " tions of the poets with the great exploits of the generals." But what a compariſon would this be? On the one ſide would be ſeen a few writers, crowned with wreaths of ivy, and dragging a goat or ox after them, the rewards and victims aſſigned them for excelling in tragic poetry: On the other, a train of illuſtrious captains, ſurrounded with colonies founded, cities taken, and nations ſubjected by their wiſdom and valour. It is not to perpetuate the victories of Æſchylus and Sophocles, but in remembrance of the glorious battles of Marathon, Salamin, Eurymedon, and many others, that ſeveral feaſts are celebrated every month by the Grecians.

The concluſion of Plutarch from hence (in which we ought to agree with him) is, that it was the higheſt imprudence in the * Athenians, to prefer pleaſure to duty, the paſſion for the theatre to the love of their country, trivial repreſentations to the application to public buſineſs, and to conſume, in uſeleſs expences and dramatic entertainments, the funds intended for the ſupport of fleets and armies. Macedon, till then obſcure and inconſiderable, well knew how to take advantage of the † Athenian indolence and effeminacy; and Philip, inſtructed among the Greeks themſelves, among whom he had for ſeveral years applied himſelf ſucceſsfully to the art of war, was not long before he gave Greece a maſter, and ſubjected it to the yoke, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

I am now to open an entirely new ſcene to the reader's view, not unworthy his curioſity and attention. We have ſeen two ſtates of no great conſideration, Media and Perſia, extend themſelves far and wide, under the direction of Cyrus, like a torrent of devouring fire, and by amazing rapidity conquer and ſubdue many provinces and kingdoms. We ſhall ſee now that vaſt empire ſetting the nations under its dominion in motion, the Perſians, Medes, Phœnicians, Egyptians, Babylonians, Indians, and many others, and falling, with all the forces of Aſia and the Eaſt, upon a little country, of very ſmall extent, and deſtitute of all foreign aſſiſtance; I mean Greece. When, on

* Ἀμαρτάνεσιν Ἀθηναῖοι μεγάλα, τὴν σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν παιδιὰν καταναλίσκοντες, τοτέοι μεγάλων ἀποτόλων δαπάνας καὶ στρατευμάτων ἐφόδια καλὰ χορηγοῦντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον.

† Quibus rebus effectum eſt, ut inter otia Græcorum, ſordidum et obſcurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret; et Philippus, obſes triennio Thebis habitus, Epaminondæ et Pelopidæ virtutibus eruditus, regnum Macedoniæ Græcæ et Aſiæ cervicibus, velut jugum ſervitutis, imponeret. Juſt. l. vi. c. 9.

the

the one hand, we behold ſo many nations united together, ſuch preparations of war made for ſeveral years with ſo much diligence; innumerable armies by ſea and land, and ſuch fleets as the ſea could hardly contain: and, on the other hand, two weak cities, Athens and Lacedæmon, abandoned by all their allies, and left almoſt entirely to themſelves: Have we not reaſon to believe, that theſe two little cities are going to be utterly deſtroyed and ſwallowed up by ſo formidable an enemy; and that there will not be ſo much as any footſteps of them left remaining? And yet we ſhall find that they prove victorious; and by their invincible courage, and the battles they gained, both by ſea and land, made the Perſian empire lay aſide all thoughts of ever turning their arms againſt Greece any more.

The hiſtory of the war between the Perſians and the Greeks, will illuſtrate the truth of this maxim, That it is not the number, but the valour of the troops, and the conduct of the generals, on which depend the ſucceſs of military expeditions. The reader will admire the ſurpriſing courage and intrepidity of the great men at the head of the Grecian affairs, whom neither all the world in motion againſt them could deject, nor the greateſt misfortunes diſconcert; who undertook with an handful of men, to make head againſt innumerable armies; who, notwithſtanding ſuch a prodigious inequality of forces, durſt hope for ſucceſs; who even compelled victory to declare on the ſide of merit and virtue; and taught all ſucceeding generations what infinite reſources and expedients are to be found in prudence, valour, and experience; in a zeal for liberty and our country; in the love of our duty; and in all the ſentiments of noble and generous ſouls.

This war of the Perſians againſt the Grecians will be followed by another among the Greeks themſelves, but of a very different kind from the former. In the latter, there will ſcarce be any actions, but what in appearance are of little conſequence, and ſeemingly unworthy of a reader's curioſity, who is fond of great events: In this he will meet with little beſides private quarrels between certain cities, or ſome ſmall commonwealths; ſome inconſiderable ſieges (except that of Syracuſe, one of the moſt important related in ancient hiſtory), though ſeveral of theſe ſieges were of conſiderable duration; ſome battles between armies, where the numbers were ſmall and but little blood ſhed. What is it then, that has rendered theſe wars ſo famous in hiſtory? Salluſt informs us in theſe words: "* The "actions

* Athenienſium res geſtæ, ſicuti ego exiſtimo, ſatis amplæ magnificæque

" actions of the Athenians doubtleſs were great, and yet I be-
" lieve they were ſomewhat leſs than fame is for having us to
" conceive of them. But becauſe Athens had noble writers,
" the acts of that republic are celebrated throughout the whole
" world as the moſt glorious; and the gallantry of thoſe he-
" roes who performed them, has had the good fortune to be
" thought as tranſcendant as the eloquence of thoſe who have
" deſcribed them."

Salluſt, though jealous enough of the glory the Romans had acquired by a ſeries of diſtinguiſhed actions, with which their hiſtory abounds, yet he does juſtice in this paſſage to the Grecians, by acknowledging, that their exploits were truly great and illuſtrious, though ſomewhat inferior, in his opinion, to their fame. What is then this foreign and borrowed luſtre, which the Athenian actions have derived from the eloquence of their hiſtorians? It is, that the whole univerſe agrees in looking upon them as the greateſt and moſt glorious that ever were performed. *Per terrarum orbem Athenienſium facta pro maximis celebrantur.* All nations, ſeduced and enchanted, as it were, with the beauties of the Greek authors, think that people's exploits ſuperior to any thing that was ever done by any other nation. This, according to Salluſt, is the ſervice the Greek authors have done the Athenians, by their excellent manner of deſcribing their actions; and very unhappy it is for us, that our hiſtory, for want of the like aſſiſtance, has left a thouſand bright actions and fine ſayings unrecorded, which would have been put in the ſtrongeſt light by the ancient writers, and have done great honour to our country.

But, however this be, it muſt be confeſſed, that we are not always to judge of the value of an action, or the merit of the perſons who had ſhared in it, by the importance of the event. It is rather in ſuch little ſieges and engagements, as we find recorded in the hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, that the conduct and abilities of a general are truly conſpicuous. Accordingly, it is obſerved, that it was chiefly at the head of ſmall armies, and in countries of no great extent, that our beſt generals of the laſt age diſtinguiſhed their capacity, and behaved with a conduct not inferior to the moſt celebrated captains of antiquity. In actions of this ſort, chance has no ſhare, and

que fuerunt: verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam famâ feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi ſcriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Athenienſium facta pro maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum, quæ fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum eam verbis potuere extollere præclara ingenia. Salluſt. in bell. Catilin.

does

does not cover any overſights that are committed. Every thing is conducted and carried on by the prudence of the general. He is truly the ſoul of the army, which neither acts, nor moves, but by his direction. He ſees every thing, and is preſent everywhere. Nothing eſcapes his vigilance and attention. Orders are ſeaſonably given, and ſeaſonably executed. Fineſſe, ſtratagems; falſe marches, real or feigned; attacks, encampments, decampments; in a word, every thing depends upon him alone.

On this account the reading of the Greek hiſtorians, ſuch as Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius, is of infinite ſervice to young officers; becauſe thoſe hiſtorians, who were alſo excellent commanders, enter into all the particulars of the military art, and lead the readers, as it were by the hand, through all the ſieges and battles they deſcribe; ſhewing them, by the example of the greateſt generals of antiquity, and by a kind of anticipated experience, in what manner war is to be carried on.

Nor is it only with regard to military exploits, that the Grecian hiſtory affords ſuch excellent models. We ſhall there find celebrated legiſlators, able politicians, magiſtrates born for government, men that have excelled in all arts and ſciences, philoſophers that carried their inquiries as far as was poſſible in thoſe early ages, and who have left us ſuch maxims of morality as many Chriſtians ought to bluſh at.

If the virtues related in hiſtory may ſerve us for models in the conduct of our lives, their vices and failings, on the other hand, are no leſs proper to caution and inſtruct us; and the ſtrict regard which an hiſtorian is obliged to have for truth, will not allow him to diſſemble the latter, out of fear of eclipſing the luſtre of the former. Nor does what I here advance contradict the rule laid down by Plutarch*, on the ſame ſubject, in his preface to the life of Cimon. He requires, that the illuſtrious actions of great men be repreſented in their full light: but as to the faults, which may ſometimes eſcape them through paſſion or ſurpriſe, or into which they may be drawn by the neceſſity of affairs, † conſidering them rather as a certain degree of perfection wanting to their virtue, than as vices or crimes, that proceed from any corruption of the heart; ſuch imperfections as theſe, he would have the hiſtorian, out of compaſſion to the weakneſs of human nature, which produces nothing entirely perfect, content himſelf with touching very lightly; in the ſame manner as an able painter, when he has a fine

* In Cim. p. 479, 480.

† Ελλείμματα μᾶλλον ἀρετῆς τίνος ἢ κακίας πονηρεύματα.

face

face to draw, in which he finds some little blemish or defect, does neither entirely suppress it, nor think himself obliged to represent it with a strict exactness; because the one would spoil the beauty of the picture, and the other would destroy the likeness. The very comparison Plutarch uses, shews, that he speaks only of slight and excuseable faults. But as to actions of injustice, violence, and brutality, they ought not to be concealed or disguised on any account; nor can we suppose, that the same privilege should be allowed in history as is in painting, which invented the * profile, to represent the side-face of a prince who had lost an eye, and by that means ingeniously concealed so disagreeable a deformity. History, the most essential rule of which is sincerity, will by no means admit of such indulgences, that indeed would deprive it of its greatest advantage.

Shame, reproach, infamy, hatred, and the execrations of the public, which are the inseparable attendants on criminal and brutal actions, are no less proper to excite an horror for vice, than the glory which perpetually attends good actions is to inspire us with the love of virtue. And these, according to Tacitus †, are the two ends, which every historian ought to propose to himself, by making a judicious choice of what is most extraordinary both in good and evil, in order to occasion that public homage to be paid to virtue, which is justly due to it; and to create the greater abhorrence for vice, on account of that eternal infamy that attends it.

The history I write only furnishes too many examples of the latter sort. With respect to the Persians, it will appear by what is said of their kings, that those princes, whose power had no other bounds but those of their will, often abandoned themselves to all their passions; that nothing is more difficult than to resist the delusions of a man's own greatness, and the flatteries of those that surround him; that the liberty of gratifying all one's desires, and of doing evil with impunity, is a dangerous situation; that the best dispositions can hardly withstand such a temptation; that, even after having preserved themselves in the beginning, they are insensibly corrupted by softness and effeminacy, by pride, and their aversion to sincere counsels; and that it rarely happens they are wise enough to consider, that,

* Habet in pictura speciem tota facies. Apelles tamen imaginem Antigoni latere tantum altero ostendit, ut amissi oculi deformitas lateret. Quintil l. ii. c. 13.

† Exequi sententias haud institui, nisi insignes per honestum aut notabili dedecore: quod præcipuum munus annalium reor ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamiâ metus sit. Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 65.

when

when they find themſelves exalted above all laws and reſtraints, they ſtand then moſt in need of moderation and wiſdom, both in regard to themſelves and others; and that in ſuch a ſituation they ought to be doubly wiſe, and doubly ſtrong, in order to ſet bounds within, by their reaſon, to a power that has none without.

With reſpect to the Grecians, the Peloponneſian war will ſhow the miſerable effects of their inteſtine diviſions, and the fatal exceſſes into which they were led by their thirſt of dominion: ſcenes of injuſtice, ingratitude, and perfidy, together with the open violation of treaties, or mean artifices and unworthy tricks to elude their execution. It will ſhow, how ſcandalouſly the Lacedæmonians and Athenians debaſed themſelves to the Barbarians, in order to beg aids of money from them: how ſhamefully the great deliverers of Greece renounced the glory of all their paſt labours and exploits, by ſtooping and making their court to certain haughty and inſolent ſatrapæ, and by going ſucceſſively, with a kind of emulation, to implore the protection of the common enemy, whom they had ſo often conquered; and in what manner they employed the ſuccours they obtained from them, in oppreſſing their ancient allies, and extending their own territories by unjuſt and violent methods.

On both ſides, and ſometimes in the ſame perſon, we ſhall find a ſurpriſing mixture of good and bad, of virtues and vices, of glorious actions and mean ſentiments; and ſometimes, perhaps we ſhall be ready to aſk ourſelves, whether theſe can be the ſame perſons and the ſame people, of whom ſuch different things are related; and whether it be poſſible, that ſuch a bright and ſhining light, and ſuch thick clouds of ſmoke and darkneſs can proceed from the ſame fund.

The Perſian hiſtory includes the ſpace of one hundred and ſeventeen years, during the reigns of ſix kings of Perſia: Darius, the firſt of the name, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes; Xerxes the firſt; Artaxerxes, ſurnamed Longimanus; Xerxes the ſecond; Sogdianus; the two laſt of which reigned but a very little time; and Darius the ſecond, commonly called Darius Nothus. This hiſtory begins at the year of the world 3483, and extends to the year 3600. As this whole period naturally divides itſelf into two parts, I ſhall alſo divide it into two diſtinct books.

The firſt part, which conſiſts of ninety years, contains from the beginning of the reign of Darius the firſt, to the 42d year of Artaxerxes, the ſame year in which the Peloponneſian war began; that is, from the year of the world 3483, to the year 3573. This part chiefly contains the different enterpriſes and expeditions

expeditions of the Perſians againſt Greece, which never produced more great men and great events, nor ever diſplayed more conſpicuous or more ſolid virtues. Here you will ſee the famous battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Artemiſa, Salamin, Platæa, Mycale, Eurymedon, &c. Here the moſt eminent commanders of Greece ſignalized their courage; Miltiades, Leonidas, Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, Cimon, Pauſanias, Pericles, Thucydides, &c.

To enable the reader the more eaſily to recollect what paſſed within this ſpace of time among the Jews, and alſo among the Romans, the hiſtory of both which nations is entirely foreign to that of the Perſians and Greeks, I ſhall here ſet down in few words the principal epochas relating to them.

EPOCHAS OF THE JEWISH HISTORY.

The people of God were at that time returned from their Babyloniſh captivity to Jeruſalem, under the conduct of Zorobabl. Uſher is of opinion, that the hiſtory of Eſther ought to be placed in the reign of Darius. The Iſraelites, under the ſhadow of that prince's protection, and animated by the warm exhortations of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, did at laſt finiſh the building of the temple, which had been interrupted for many years by the cabals of their enemies. Artaxerxes was no leſs favourable to the Jews than Darius: he firſt of all ſent Ezra to Jeruſalem, who reſtored the public worſhip, and the obſervation of the law; then Nehemiah, who cauſed walls to be built round the city, and fortified it againſt the attacks of their neighbours, who were jealous of its reviving greatneſs. It is thought that Malachi, the laſt of the prophets, was cotemporary with Nehemiah, or that he propheſied not long after him.

This interval of the ſacred hiſtory extends from the reign of Darius I. to the beginning of the reign of Darius Nothus; that is to ſay, from the year of the world 3485, to the year 3581. After which the ſcripture is entirely ſilent, till the time of the Maccabees.

EPOCHAS OF THE ROMAN HISTORY.

The firſt year of Darius was the 233d of the building of Rome. Tarquin the Proud was then on the throne, and about ten years afterwards was depoſed, when the conſular government was ſubſtituted to that of the kings. In the ſucceeding part of this period happened the war againſt Porſenna; the creation of the tribunes of the people; Coriolanus's retreat among

among the Volſci, and the war that enſued thereupon: the wars of the Romans againſt the Latins, the Vejentes, the Volſci, and other neighbouring nations; the death of Virginia under the Decemvirate; the diſputes between the people and ſenate about marriages and the conſulſhip, which occaſioned the creating of military tribunes inſtead of conſuls. This period of time terminates in the 323d year from the foundation of Rome.

The ſecond part, of twenty-ſeven years, extends from the 43d year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, to the death of Darius Nothus; that is, from the year of the world 3573, to the year 3600. It contains the 19 firſt years of the Peloponneſian war, which continued 27 years, of which Greece and Sicily were the ſeat, and wherein the Greeks, who had before triumphed over the Barbarians, turned their arms againſt each other. Among the Athenians, Pericles, Nicias, and Alcibiades; among the Lacedæmonians, Braſidas, Gylippus, and Lyſander, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the moſt extraordinary manner.

Rome continues to be agitated by different diſputes between the ſenate and people. Towards the end of this period, and about the 350th year of Rome, the Romans formed the ſiege of Veji, which laſted ten years.

I have already obſerved, that 80 years after the taking of Troy*, the Heraclides, that is, the deſcendants of Hercules, returned into the Peloponneſus, and made themſelves maſters of Lacedæmon, where two of them, who were brothers, Euriſthenes and Procles, ſons of Ariſtodemus, reigned jointly together. †Herodotus obſerves, that theſe two brothers were, during their whole lives, at variance; and that almoſt all their deſcendants inherited the like diſpoſition of mutual hatred and antipathy; ſo true it is, that the ſovereign power will admit of no partnerſhip, and that two kings will always be too many for one kingdom! However, after the death of theſe two, the deſcendants of both ſtill continued to ſway the ſceptre jointly: and what is very remarkable, theſe two branches ſubſiſted for near 900 years, from the return of the Heraclides into the Peloponneſus to the death of Cleomenes, and ſupplied Sparta with kings without interruption, and that generally in a regular ſucceſſion from father to ſon, eſpecially in the elder branch of the family.

* A. M. 2900. Ant. J. C. 1104. † Lib. vi. c. 50.

THE ORIGIN AND CONDITION OF THE ELOTÆ, OR HELOTS.

When the Lacedæmonians firſt began to ſettle in Peloponneſus, they met with great oppoſition from the inhabitants of the country, whom they were obliged to ſubdue one after another by force of arms, or receive into their allianee on eaſy and equitable terms, as the paying them a ſmall tribute. Strabo* ſpeaks of a city, called Elos, not far from Sparta, which, after having ſubmitted to the yoke, as others had done, revolted openly, and refuſed to pay the tribute. Agis, the ſon of Euriſthenes, newly ſettled in the throne, was ſenſible of the dangerous tendency of this firſt revolt, and therefore immediately marched with an army againſt them, together with Soüs, his colleague. They laid ſiege to the city, which, after a pretty long reſiſtanee, was forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. This prince thought it proper to make ſuch an example of them, as ſhould intimidate all their neighbours, and deter them from the like attempts, and yet not alienate their minds by too cruel a treatment; for which reaſon he put none to death. He ſpared the lives of all the inhabitants, but at the ſame time deprived them of their liberty, and reduced them all to a ſtate of ſlavery. From thenceforward they were employed in all mean and ſervile offices, and treated with extreme rigour. Theſe were the people who were called Elotæ. The number of them exceedingly increaſed in proceſs of time, the Lacedæmonians giving undoubtedly the ſame name to all the people they reduced to the ſame condition of ſervitude. As they themſelves were averſe to labour, and entirely addicted to war, they left the cultivation of their lands to theſe ſlaves, aſſigning every one of them a certain portion of ground, of which they were obliged to carry the products every year to their reſpective maſters, who endeavoured by all ſorts of ill uſage to make their yoke more grievous and inſupportable. This was certainly very bad policy, and could only tend to breed a vaſt number of dangerous enemies in the very heart of the ſtate, who were always ready to take arms and revolt on every occaſion. The Romans acted more prudently in this reſpect; for they incorporated the conquered nations into their ſtate, by aſſociating them into the freedom of their city, and thereby converted them, from enemies, into brethren and fellow-citizens.

* Lib. viii. p. 365. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 40.

LYCURGUS, THE LACEDÆMONIAN LAWGIVER.

*Eurytion, or Eurypon, as he is named by others, ſucceeded Soüs. In order to gain his people's affection, and render his government agreeable, he thought fit to recede in ſome points from the abſolute power exerciſed by the kings his predeceſſors: this rendered his name ſo dear to his ſubjects, that all his ſucceſſors were, from him, called Eurytionides. But this relaxation gave birth to horrible confuſion, and an unbounded licentiouſneſs in Sparta, and for a long time occaſioned infinite miſchiefs. The people became ſo inſolent, that nothing could reſtrain them. If Eurytion's ſucceſſors attempted to recover their authority by force, they became odious; and if, through complaiſance or weakneſs, they choſe to diſſemble, their mildneſs ſerved only to render them contemptible; ſo that order was in a manner aboliſhed, and the laws no longer regarded. Theſe confuſions haſtened the death of Lycurgus's father, whoſe name was Eunomus, and who was killed in an inſurrection. Polydectes, his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor, dying ſoon after without children, every body expected Lycurgus would have been king. And indeed he was ſo in effect, as long as the pregnancy of his brother's wife was uncertain; but as ſoon as that was manifeſt, he declared, that the kingdom belonged to her child, in caſe it proved a ſon: and from that moment he adminiſtered the government, as guardian to his unborn nephew, under the title of Prodicos, which was the name given by the Lacedæmonians to the guardians of their kings. When the child was born, Lycurgus took him in his arms, and cried out to the company that was preſent, "Behold, my Lords of Sparta, this new-born child is "your king:" and, at the ſame time, he put the infant into the king's ſeat, and named him Charilaus, becauſe of the joy the people expreſſed upon occaſion of his birth. The reader will find, in the ſecond volume of this hiſtory, all that relates to the hiſtory of Lycurgus, the reformation he made, and the excellent laws he eſtabliſhed in Sparta. Ageſilaus was at this time king in the elder branch of the family.

WAR BETWEEN THE ARGIVES AND LACEDÆMONIANS.

†Some time after this, in the reign of Theopompus, a war broke out between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, on account of a little country, called Thyrea, that lay upon the confines of the two ſtates, and to which each of them pretended

* Plut. in Lycurg. p. 40 † Herod. l. i. c. 1.

a right. When the two armies were ready to engage, it was agreed on both ſides, in order to ſpare the effuſion of blood, that the quarrel ſhould be decided by three hundred of the braveſt men on both ſides; and that the land in queſtion ſhould become the property of the victorious party. To leave the combatants more room to engage, the two armies retired to ſome diſtance. Thoſe generous champions then, who had all the courage of two mighty armies, boldly advanced towards each other, and fought with ſo much reſolution and fury, that the whole number, except three men, two on the ſide of the Argives, and one on that of the Lacedæmonians, lay dead upon the ſpot; and only the night parted them. The two Argives, looking upon themſelves as the conquerors, made what haſte they could to Argos to carry the news: the ſingle Lacedæmonian, Othryades by name, inſtead of retiring, ſtripped the dead bodies of the Argives, and carrying their arms into the Lacedæmonian camp, continued in his poſt. The next day the two armies returned to the field of battle. Both ſides laid equal claim to the victory: the Argives, becauſe they had more of their champions left alive than the enemy had; the Lacedæmonians, becauſe the two Argives that remained alive had fled; whereas their ſingle ſoldier had remained maſter of the field of battle, and had carried off the ſpoils of the enemy: in ſhort, they could not determine the diſpute without coming to another engagement. Here fortune declared in favour of the Lacedæmonians, and the little territory of Thyrea was the prize of their victory. But Othryades, not able to bear the thoughts of ſurviving his brave companions, or of enduring the ſight of Sparta after their death, killed himſelf on the ſame field of battle where they had fought, reſolving to have one fate and one tomb with them.

WARS BETWEEN THE MESSENIANS AND LACEDÆMONIANS.

There were no leſs than three ſeveral wars between the Meſſenians and the Lacedæmonians, all of them very fierce and bloody. Meſſenia was a country in Peloponneſus, not far weſtward from Sparta; it was of conſiderable ſtrength, and had its own particular kings.

THE FIRST MESSENIAN WAR.

*The firſt Meſſenian war laſted twenty years, and broke out the ſecond year of the ninth Olympiad. The Lacedæmoni-

* A. M. 3261. Ant. J. C. 743. Pauſan. l. iv. p. 216—240. Juſtin. l. iii. c. 4.

ans

ans pretended to have received ſeveral conſiderable injuries from the Meſſenians, and, among others, that of having had their daughters raviſhed by the inhabitants of Meſſenia, when they went, according to cuſtom, to a temple, that ſtood on the borders of the two nations; as alſo that of the murder of Teleles, their king, which was a conſequence of the former. Probably a deſire of extending their dominion, and of ſeizing a territory which lay ſo convenient for them, might be the true cauſe of the war. But be that as it will, the war broke out in the reign of Polydorus and Theopompus, kings of Sparta, at the time when the office of archon at Athens was ſtill decennial.

*Euphæs, the thirteenth deſcendant from Hercules, was then king of Meſſenia. He gave the command of his army to Cleonnis. The Lacedæmonians opened the campaign with the ſiege of Amphea, a ſmall inconſiderable city, which, however, they thought would be very proper to make a place of arms. The town was taken by ſtorm, and all the inhabitants put to the ſword. This firſt blow ſerved only to animate the Meſſenians, by ſhowing them what they were to expect from the enemy, if they did not defend themſelves with vigour. The Lacedæmonians, on their part, bound themſelves by an oath, not to lay down their arms, or return to Sparta, till they had made themſelves maſters of all the cities and lands belonging to the Meſſenians; ſuch an aſſurance had they of the ſucceſs of their arms, and of their invincible courage.

‡Two battles were fought, wherein the loſs was pretty equal on both ſides. But after the ſecond, the Meſſenians ſuffered extremely through the want of proviſions, which occaſioned a great deſertion in their troops, and at laſt brought the plague among them.

Hereupon they conſulted the oracle of Delphos, which directed them, in order to appeaſe the wrath of the gods, to offer up a virgin of the royal blood in ſacrifice. Ariſtomenes, who was of the race of the Epytides, offered his own daughter. The Meſſenians then conſidering, that if they left garriſons in all their towns, they ſhould extremely weaken their army, reſolved to abandon all their towns, except Ithoma, a little place ſeated on the top of a hill of the ſame name, about which they encamped and fortified themſelves. In this ſituation were ſeven years ſpent, during which nothing paſſed but ſlight ſkirmiſhes on both ſides, the Lacedæmonians not daring in all that time to force the enemy to a battle.

* Pauſan. l. iv. p. 223—226. † Ibid. p. 227—234.

Indeed, they almoſt deſpaired of being able to reduce them; nor was there any thing but the obligation of the oath, by which they had bound themſelves, that made them continue ſo burthenſome a war. *What gave them the greateſt uneaſineſs, was their apprehenſion, leſt their abſence and diſtance from their wives for ſo many years, and which might ſtill continue many more, ſhould deſtroy their families at home, and leave Sparta deſtitute of citizens. To prevent this misfortune, they ſent home ſuch of their ſoldiers as were come to the army, ſince the forementioned oath had been taken, and made no ſcruple of proſtituting their wives to their embraces. The children that ſprung from theſe unlawful copulations were called Partheniatæ, a name given them to denote the infamy of their birth. As ſoon as they were grown up, not being able to endure ſuch an opprobrious diſtinction, they baniſhed themſelves from Sparta with one conſent, and under the conduct of †Phalanthus, went and ſettled at Tarentum in Italy, after driving out the ancient inhabitants.

‡At laſt, in the eighth year of the war, which was the thirteenth of Euphæs's reign, a fierce and bloody battle was fought near Ithoma. Euphæs pierced through the battalions of Theopompus with too much heat and precipitation for a king. He there received a multitude of wounds, ſeveral of which were mortal. He fell, and ſeemed to give up the ghoſt. Whereupon wonderful efforts of courage were exerted on both ſides; by the one, to carry off the king; by the other, to ſave him. Cleonnis killed eight Spartans, who were dragging him along, and ſpoiled them of their arms, which he committed to the cuſtody of ſome of his ſoldiers. He himſelf received ſeveral wounds, all in the forepart of his body, which was a certain proof, that he had never turned his back upon his enemies. Ariſtomenes, fighting on the ſame occaſion, and for the ſame end, killed five Lacedæmonians, whoſe ſpoils he likewiſe carried off, without receiving any wound. In ſhort, the king was ſaved and carried off by the Meſſenians; and, all mangled and bloody as he was, he expreſſed great joy that they had not been worſted. Ariſtomenes, after the battle was over, met Cleonnis, who, by reaſon of his wounds, could neither walk by himſelf, nor with the aſſiſtance of thoſe that lent him their hands. He therefore took him upon his ſhoulders, without quitting his arms, and carried him to the camp.

* Diod. l. xv. p. 778.

† Et regnata petam Laconi rura Phalanto. HOR. Od. vi. l. 2.

‡ Pauſan. l. iv. p. 234, 235. Diod. in Frag.

As

As ſoon as they had applied the firſt dreſſing to the wounds of the king of Meſſenia and of his officers, there aroſe a new combat among the Meſſenians, that was purſued with as much warmth as the former, but was of a very different kind, and yet the conſequence of the other. The affair in queſtion was the adjudging the prize of glory to him, that had ſignalized his valour moſt in the late engagement: for it was even then an ancient cuſtom among them, publicly to proclaim, after a battle, the name of the man that had ſhowed the greateſt courage. Nothing could be more proper to animate the officers and ſoldiers, to inſpire them with reſolution and intrepidity, and to ſtifle the natural apprehenſion of death and danger. Two illuſtrious champions entered the liſts on this occaſion, namely, Cleonnis and Ariſtomenes.

The king, notwithſtanding his weak condition, being attended with the principal officers of his army, preſided in the council where this important diſpute was to be decided. Each competitor pleaded his own cauſe. Cleonnis began, and founded his pretenſions upon the great number of the enemies he had ſlain, and upon the multitude of wounds he had received in the action, which were ſo many undoubted teſtimonies of the courage with which he had faced both death and danger; whereas, according to him, the condition in which Ariſtomenes came out of the engagement, without hurt and without wound, ſeemed to ſhew, that he had been very careful of his own perſon, or, at moſt, could only prove, that he had been more fortunate than he, but not more brave and courageous. And as to his having carried him on his ſhoulders into the camp, that action indeed might ſerve to prove the ſtrength of his body, but nothing further: and the thing in diſpute at this time, ſays he, is not ſtrength, but valour.

The only thing Ariſtomenes was reproached for, was, his not being wounded; therefore he confined himſelf to that point, and anſwered in the following manner: "I am," ſays he, "called fortunate, becauſe I have eſcaped from the battle "without wounds. If that were owing to my cowardice, I "ſhould deſerve another epithet than that of fortunate; and "inſtead of being admitted to diſpute the prize, ought to un- "dergo the rigour of the laws, that puniſh cowards. But "what is objected to me as a crime, is in truth my greateſt "glory. For, whether my enemies, aſtoniſhed at my valour, "durſt not venture to attack or oppoſe me, it is no ſmall de- "gree of merit, that I made them fear me; or, that whilſt "they engaged me, I had at the ſame time ſtrength to cut them

" them in pieces, and ſkill to guard againſt their attacks, I " muſt then have been at once both valiant and prudent: for " whoever, in the midſt of an engagement, can expoſe himſelf " to dangers with caution and ſecurity, ſhows, that he excels " at the ſame time both in the virtues of the mind and the " body. As for courage, no man living can reproach Cleon- " nis with any want of it; but for his honour's ſake, I am " ſorry that he ſhould appear to want gratitude."

After the concluſion of theſe harangues, the queſtion was put to the vote. The whole army is in ſuſpenſe, and impatiently waits for the deciſion. No diſpute could be ſo warm and intereſting as this. It is not a competition for gold or ſilver, but ſolely for honour. The proper reward of virtue is pure diſintereſted glory. Here the judges are unſuſpected. The actions of the competitors ſtill ſpeak for them. It is the king himſelf, ſurrounded with his officers, who preſides and adjudges: a whole army are the witneſſes: the field of battle is a tribunal without partiality and cabal. In ſhort, all the votes concurred in favour of Ariſtomenes, and adjudged him the prize.

*Euphæs, the king, died not many days after the deciſion of this affair. He had reigned thirteen years, and during all that time been engaged in war with the Lacedæmonians. As he died without children, he left the Meſſenians at liberty to chuſe his ſucceſſor. Cleonnis and Damis were candidates in oppoſition to Ariſtomenes; but he was elected king in preference to them. When he was on the throne, he did not ſcruple to confer on his two rivals the principal offices of the ſtate. All ſtrongly attached to the public good, even more than to their own glory; competitors, but not enemies; theſe great men were actuated by a zeal for their country, and were neither friends nor adverſaries to one another, but for its preſervation.

In this relation, I have followed the opinion of the late Monſieur † Boivin, the elder, and have made uſe of his learned diſſertation upon a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, which the world was little acquainted with. He ſuppoſes, and proves in it, that the king, ſpoken of in that fragment, is Euphæs; and that Ariſtomenes is the ſame that Pauſanias calls Ariſtodemus, according to the cuſtom of the ancients, who were often called by two different names.

* Pauſan. l. iv. p. 235—241.

† Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions, Vol. II. p. 84.—115.

Ariſtomenes,

Ariſtomenes, otherwiſe called Ariſtodemus, reigned near ſeven years, and was equally eſteemed and beloved by his ſubjects. *The war ſtill continued all this time. Towards the end of his reign he beat the Lacedæmonians, took their king Theopompus, and, in honour of Jupiter and Ithoma, ſacrificed three hundred of them, among whom their king was the principal victim. Shortly after, Ariſtodemus ſacrificed himſelf upon the tomb of his daughter, in conformity to the anſwer of an oracle. Damis was his ſucceſſor, but without taking upon him the title of king.

†After his death the Meſſenians never had any ſucceſs in their affairs, but found themſelves in a very wretched and hopeleſs condition. Being reduced to the laſt extremity, and utterly deſtitute of proviſions, they abandoned Ithoma, and fled to ſuch of their allies as were neareſt to them. The city was immediately razed, and all the people that remained ſubmitted. They were made to engage by oath never to forſake the party of the Lacedæmonians, and never to revolt from them: a very uſeful precaution, only proper to make them add the guilt of perjury to their rebellion. Their new maſters impoſed no tribute upon them; but contented themſelves with obliging them to bring to the Spartan market one-half of the corn they ſhould reap every harveſt. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that the Meſſenians, both men and women, ſhould attend, in mourning, the funerals either of the kings, or chief citizens of Sparta; which the Lacedæmonians probably looked upon as a mark of the others' dependence, and as a kind of homage paid to their nation. ‡Thus ended the firſt Meſſenian war, after having laſted twenty years.

THE SECOND MESSENIAN WAR.

§The lenity with which the Lacedæmonians treated the Meſſenians at firſt, was of no long duration. When once they found the whole country had ſubmitted, and thought the people incapable of giving them any further trouble, they returned to their natural character of inſolence and haughtineſs, that often degenerated into cruelty, and ſometimes even into ferocity. Inſtead of treating the vanquiſhed with kindneſs, as friends and allies, and endeavouring by gentle methods to win thoſe they had ſubdued by force, they ſeemed intent upon nothing but aggravating their yoke, and making them feel the

* Clem. Alex. in Protrop. p. 20. Euſeb. in Præpar. l. iv. c. 16.
† Pauſan. l. iv. p. 241—247. ‡ A. M. 3281. Ant. J. C. 723.
§ Pauſan. l. iv. p. 242—261. Juſtin. l. iii. c. 5.

whole

whole weight of ſubjection. They laid heavy taxes upon them, delivered them up to the avarice of the collectors of thoſe taxes, gave no ear to their complaints, rendered them no juſtice, treated them like vile ſlaves, and committed the moſt crying outrages againſt them.

Man, who is born for liberty, can never reconcile himſelf to ſervitude: the moſt gentle ſlavery exaſperates, and provokes him to rebel. What could be expected then from ſo cruel a one, as that the Meſſenians groaned under? After having endured it with great uneaſineſs * near forty years, they reſolved to throw off the yoke, and to recover their ancient liberty. † This was in the fourth year of the 23d Olympiad: the office of archon at Athens was then made annual; and Anaxander and Anaxidamus reigned at Sparta.

The Meſſenians' firſt care was to ſtrengthen themſelves with the alliance of the neighbouring nations. Theſe they found well inclined to enter into their views, as very agreeable to their own intereſts; for it was not without jealouſy and apprehenſions, that they ſaw ſo powerful a city riſing up in the midſt of them, which manifeſtly ſeemed to aim at extending her dominion over all the reſt. The people therefore of Elis, the Argives and Sicyonians, declared for the Meſſenians. But before their forces were joined, a battle was fought between the Lacedæmonians and Meſſenians. ‡ Ariſtomenes, the ſecond of that name, was at the head of the latter. He was a commander of intrepid courage, and of great abilities in war. The Lacedæmonians were beat in this engagement. Ariſtomenes, to give the enemy at firſt an advantageous opinion of his bravery, knowing what influence it has on the ſucceſs of future enterpriſes, boldly ventured to enter into Sparta by night, and upon the gate of the temple of Minerva, who was ſurnamed Chalciœcos, to hang up a ſhield, on which was an inſcription, ſignifying, that it was a preſent offered by Ariſtomenes to the goddeſs, out of the ſpoils of the Lacedæmonians.

This bravado did in reality aſtoniſh the Lacedæmonians; but they were ſtill more alarmed at the formidable league that was formed againſt them. The Delphic oracle, which they conſulted, in order to know by what means they ſhould be

* Cum per complures annos gravia ſervitutis verbera plerumque ac vincula cæteraque captivitatus mala perpeſſi eſſent, poſt longam pœnarum patientiam bellum inſtaurant. Juſtin. l. iii. c. 5.

† A. M. 3320. Ant. J. C. 684.

‡ According to ſeveral hiſtorians, there was another Ariſtomenes in the firſt Meſſenian war. Diod. l. xv. p. 273.

ſucceſsful

ſucceſsful in this war, directed them to ſend to Athens for a commander, and to ſubmit to his counſel and conduct. This was a very mortifying ſtep to ſo haughty a city as Sparta. But the fear of incurring the god's diſpleaſure by a direct diſobedience, prevailed over all other conſiderations. They ſent an embaſſy therefore to the Athenians. The people of Athens were ſomewhat perplexed at the requeſt. On the one hand, they were not ſorry to ſee the Lacedæmonians at war with their neighbours, and were far from deſiring to furniſh them with a good general: On the other, they were afraid alſo of diſobeying the god. To extricate themſelves out of this difficulty, they offered the Lacedæmonians a perſon called Tyrtæus. He was a poet by profeſſion, and had ſomething original in the turn of his wit, and diſagreeable in his perſon; for he was lame. Notwithſtanding theſe defects, the Lacedæmonians received him as a general, ſent them by heaven itſelf. Their ſucceſs did not at firſt anſwer their expectation, for they loſt three battles ſucceſſively.

The kings of Sparta, diſcouraged by ſo many diſappointments, and out of all hopes of better ſucceſs for the future, were entirely bent upon returning to Sparta, and marching home again with their forces. Tyrtæus oppoſed this deſign very warmly, and at length brought them over to his opinion. He ſpoke to the troops, and repeated to them the verſes he had made on the occaſion, and on which he had beſtowed great pains and application. He firſt endeavoured to comfort them for their paſt loſſes, which he imputed to no fault of theirs, but only to ill fortune, or to fate, which no human wiſdom can ſurmount. He then repreſented to them, what a ſhame it would be for Spartans to fly from an enemy; and how glorious it would be for them rather to periſh ſword in hand, in fighting for their country, if it was ſo decreed by fate. Then, as if all danger was vaniſhed, and the gods, fully ſatisfied and appeaſed with their late calamities, were entirely turned to their ſide, he ſet victory before their eyes as preſent and certain, and as if ſhe herſelf was inviting them to battle. * All the ancient authors who have made any mention of the ſtyle and character of Tyrtæus's poetry, obſerve, that it was full of a certain fire, ardour, and enthuſiaſm, that animated the minds of men, that exalted them above themſelves, that inſpired† them with ſomething generous and martial, that extinguiſhed all fear and

† Plat. l. i. de Legib. p 620. Plut. in Agid. et Cleom. p. 805.

‡ Tyrtæuſque mares animos in Martia bella
Verſibus exacuit. Hor. in Art. Poet.

apprehenſion

apprehenſion of danger or death, and made them wholly intent upon the preſervation of their country and their own glory.

Tyrtæus's verſes had really this effect on the ſoldiers upon this occaſion. They all deſired, with one voice, to march againſt the enemy. Being become indifferent as to their lives, they had no thoughts but to ſecure themſelves the honour of a burial. To this end they all tied ſtrings round their right arms, on which were inſcribed their own and their fathers' names, that, if they chanced to be killed in the battle, and to have their faces ſo altered through time, or accident, as not to be diſtinguiſhable, it might certainly be known who each of them was by theſe marks. Soldiers determined to die are very valiant. This appeared in the battle that enſued. It was very bloody, the victory being a long time diſputed on both ſides; but at laſt the Meſſenians gave way. When Tyrtæus went afterwards to Sparta, he was received with the greateſt marks of diſtinction, and incorporated into the body of citizens.

The gaining of this battle did not put an end to the war, which had already laſted three years. Ariſtomenes, having aſſembled the remains of his army, retired to the top of a mountain, of difficult acceſs, which was called Ira. The conquerors attempted to carry the place by aſſault; but that brave prince defended himſelf there for the ſpace of eleven years, and performed the moſt extraordinary actions of bravery. He was at laſt obliged to quit it, only by ſurpriſe and treachery, after having defended it like a lion. Such of the Meſſenians as fell into the hands of the Lacedæmonians on this occaſion, were reduced to the condition of the Helots, or ſlaves. The reſt ſeeing their country ruined, went and ſettled at Zancle, a city in Sicily, which afterwards took its name from this people, and was called Meſſena; the ſame place called at this day Meſſina. Ariſtomenes, after having conducted one of his daughters to Rhodes, whom he had given in marriage to the tyrant of that place, thought of paſſing on to Sardis, and to remain with Ardys, king of the Lydians, or to Ecbatana, with Phraortes, king of the Medes; but death prevented the execution of all his deſigns.

† The ſecond Meſſenian war was of fourteen years duration, and ended the firſt year of the twenty-ſeventh Olympiad.

There was a third war between theſe people and the Lacedæmonians, which began both at a time and on the occaſion of a great earthquake that happened at Sparta. We ſhall ſpeak of this war in its place.

† A.M. 3334. Ant. J. C. 670.

The

The hiſtory, of which it remains for me to treat in this work, is that of the ſucceſſors of Alexander, and comprehends the ſpace of 293 years; from the death of that monarch, and the commencement of the reign of Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, in Egypt, to the death of Cleopatra, when that kingdom became a Roman province, under the emperor Auguſtus.

This hiſtory will preſent to our view a ſeries of all the crimes which uſually ariſe from inordinate ambition. Scenes of jealouſy and perfidious conduct; treaſon, ingratitude, and crying abuſes of ſovereign power; cruelty, impiety, an utter oblivion of the natural ſentiments of probity and honour; with the violation of all laws human and divine, will riſe before us. We ſhall behold nothing but fatal diſſenſions, deſtructive wars, and dreadful revolutions. Men, originally friends, brought up together, and natives of the ſame country, companions in the empire they had all concurred to form at the expence of their blood. We ſhall ſee the captains of Alexander ſacrifice the mother, the wives, the brother, the ſiſters of that prince, to their own ambition; and without ſparing even thoſe to whom they either owed, or gave, life. We ſhall no longer behold thoſe glorious times of Greece, that were once ſo productive of great men, and great examples; or, if we ſhould happen to diſcover ſome traces and remains of them, they will only reſemble the gleams of lightning that ſhoot along in a rapid track, and are only remarkable from the profound darkneſs that precedes and follows them.

I acknowledge myſelf to be ſufficiently ſenſible how much a writer is to be pitied, for being obliged to repreſent human nature in ſuch colours and lineaments as diſhonour her, and which occaſion inevitable diſtaſte and a ſecret affliction in the minds of thoſe who are made ſpectators of ſuch a picture. Hiſtory loſes whatever is moſt affecting and moſt capable of conveying pleaſure and inſtruction, when ſhe can only produce thoſe effects, by inſpiring the mind with horror for criminal actions, and by a repreſentation of the calamities which uſually ſucceed them, and are to be conſidered as their juſt puniſhment. It is difficult to engage the attention of a reader, for any conſiderable time, on objects which only raiſe his indignation, and it would be affronting him, to ſeem deſirous of diſſuading him from the exceſs of inordinate paſſions, of which he conceives himſelf incapable.

What means is there to preſerve and diffuſe the agreeable through a narration, which has nothing to offer but an uniform

ſeries of vices and great crimes, and which makes it neceſſary to enter into a particular detail of the actions and characters of men born for the calamity of the human race, and whoſe very names ſhould not be tranſmitted to poſterity? It may even be thought dangerous, to familiarize the minds of the generality of mankind to uninterrupted ſcenes of too ſucceſsful iniquity, and to be particular in deſcribing the unjuſt ſucceſs which waited on thoſe illuſtrious criminals, the long duration of whoſe proſperity being frequently attended with the privileges and rewards of virtue, may be thought an imputation on providence by perſons of weak underſtandings.

This hiſtory, which ſeems likely to prove very diſagreeable, from the reaſons I have juſt mentioned, will become more ſo from the obſcurity and confuſion in which the ſeveral tranſactions will be involved, and which it will be difficult, if not impoſſible, to remedy. Ten or twelve of Alexander's captains were engaged in a courſe of hoſtilities againſt each other, for the partition of his empire after his death; and to ſecure themſelves ſome portion, greater or leſs, of that vaſt body. Sometimes feigned friends, ſometimes declared enemies, they are continually forming different parties and leagues, which are to ſubſiſt no longer than is conſiſtent with the intereſt of each particular. Macedonia changed its maſter five or ſix times in a very ſhort ſpace. By what means then can order and perſpicuity be preſerved, in a prodigious variety of events that are perpetually croſſing and breaking in upon each other?

Beſides this, I am no longer ſupported by any ancient authors capable of conducting me through this darkneſs and confuſion. Diodorus will entirely abandon me, after having been my guide for ſome time; and no other hiſtorian will appear to take his place. No proper ſeries of affairs will remain; the ſeveral events are not to be diſpoſed into any regular connexion with each other; nor will it be poſſible to point out, either the motives to the reſolutions formed, or the proper character of the principal actors in this ſcene of obſcurity. I think myſelf happy when Polybius, or Plutarch, lend me their aſſiſtance. In my account of Alexander's ſucceſſors, whoſe tranſactions are, perhaps, the moſt complicated and perplexed part of ancient hiſtory, Uſher, Prideaux, and Vaillant, will be my uſual guides; and on many occaſions, I ſhall only tranſcribe from Prideaux; but, with all theſe aids, I ſhall not promiſe to throw ſo much light into this hiſtory as I could deſire.

After a war of twenty years, the number of the principal competitors were reduced to four; Ptolemy, Caſſander, Seleucus,

leucus, and Lyſimachus: the empire of Alexander was divided into four fixed kingdoms (agreeably to the prediction of Daniel), by a ſolemn treaty concluded between the parties. Three of theſe kingdoms, Egypt, Macedonia, Syria (or Aſia), will have a regular ſucceſſion of monarchs, ſufficiently clear and diſtinct; but the fourth, which comprehended Thrace with part of Leſſer Aſia, and ſome neighbouring provinces, will ſuffer a number of variations.

As the kingdom of Egypt was ſubject to the feweſt changes (becauſe Ptolemy, who was eſtabliſhed there as a governor at the death of Alexander, retained the poſſeſſion of it ever after, and left it to his poſterity), we ſhall, therefore, conſider this prince as the baſis of our chronology, and our ſeveral epochas ſhall be fixed from him.

The fifth and ſixth volumes will contain the events for the ſpace of 120 years, under the four firſt kings of Egypt *viz.* Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, who reigned 38 years; Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned 40; Ptolemy Evergetes, who reigned 25; and Ptolemy Philopator, whoſe reign continued 17.

In order to throw ſome light into the hiſtory contained therein, I ſhall, in the firſt place, give the principal events of it, in a chronological abridgment.

Introductory to this, I muſt deſire the reader to accompany me in ſome reflections, which have not eſcaped Monſieur Boſſuet, with relation to Alexander. This prince, who was the moſt renowned and illuſtrious conqueror in all hiſtory, was the laſt monarch of his race. Macedonia, his ancient kingdom, which his anceſtors had governed for ſo many ages, was invaded from all quarters, as a vacant ſucceſſion; and after it had been a prey to the ſtrongeſt, it was at laſt transferred to another family. If Alexander had continued pacific in Macedonia, the grandeur of his empire would not have excited the ambition of his captains; and he might have tranſmitted the ſceptre of his progenitors to his own deſcendants: but, as he had not preſcribed any bounds to his power, he was inſtrumental in the deſtruction of his houſe, and we ſhall behold the extermination of his family, without the leaſt remaining traces of them in hiſtory. His conqueſts occaſioned a vaſt effuſion of blood, and furniſhed his captains with a pretext for murdering one another. Theſe were the effects that flowed from the boaſted bravery of Alexander, or rather from that brutality, which, under the glittering names of ambition and glory, ſpread the deſolation of fire and ſword through whole provin-

ces, without the leaſt provocation, and ſhed the blood of multitudes who had never injured him.

We are not to imagine, however, that providence abandoned theſe events to chance; but, as it was then preparing all things for the approaching appearance of the Meſſiah, it was vigilant to unite all the nations, that were to be firſt enlightened with the goſpel, by the uſe of one and the ſame language, which was that of Greece: and the ſame providence made it neceſſary for them to learn this foreign tongue, by ſubjecting them to ſuch maſters as ſpoke no other. The Deity, therefore, by the agency of this language, which became more common and univerſal than any other, facilitated the preaching of the apoſtles, and rendered it more uniform.

The partition of the empire of Alexander the Great among the generals of that prince immediately after his death, did not ſubſiſt for any length of time, and hardly took place, if we except Egypt, where Ptolemy had firſt eſtabliſhed himſelf, and on the throne of which he always maintained himſelf without acknowledging any ſuperior.

* This partition was not fully regulated and fixed, till after the battle of Ipſus in Phrygia, wherein Antigonus and his ſon Demetrius, ſurnamed Poliorcetes, were defeated, and the former loſt his life. The empire of Alexander was then divided into four kingdoms, by a ſolemn treaty (as had been foretold by Daniel). Ptolemy had Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Cœloſyria, and Paleſtine. Caſſander, the ſon of Antipater, obtained Macedonia and Greece. Lyſimachus acquired Thrace, Bithynia, and ſome other provinces on the other ſide of the Helleſpont and the Boſphorus. And Seleucus had Syria, and all that part of Aſia Major, which extended to the other ſide of the Euphrates, and as far as the river Indus.

Of theſe four kingdoms, thoſe of Egypt and Syria ſubſiſted, almoſt without any interruption, in the ſame families, and through a long ſucceſſion of princes. The kingdom of Macedonia had ſeveral maſters, of different families, ſucceſſively. That of Thrace was at laſt divided into ſeveral branches, and no longer conſtituted one entire body, by which means all traces of regular ſucceſſion ceaſed to ſubſiſt.

I. THE KINGDOM OF EGYPT.

The kingdom of Egypt had fourteen monarchs, including Cleopatra; after whoſe death, thoſe dominions became a pro-

* A. M. 3704. Ant. J. C. 300.

vince

vince of the Roman empire. All these princes had the common name of Ptolemy, but each of them was likewise distinguished by a peculiar surname. They had also the appellation of Lagides, from Lagus, the father of that Ptolemy who reigned the first in Egypt. The sixth volume contains the histories of six of these kings, and I shall give their names a place here, with the duration of their reigns, the first of which commenced immediately upon the death of Alexander the Great.

Ptolemy Soter. He reigned 38 years and some months—A. M. 3680.

Ptolemy Philadelphus. He reigned 40 years, including the two years of his reign in the life-time of his father—A. M. 3718.

Ptolemy Evergetes reigned 25 years.—A. M. 3758.

Ptolemy Philopater reigned 17.—A. M. 3783.

Ptolemy Epiphanes reigned 24.—A. M. 3800.

Ptolemy Philometor reigned 34.—A. M. 3824.

II. THE KINGDOM OF SYRIA.

The kingdom of Syria had twenty-seven kings; which makes it evident, that their reigns were often very short: and indeed several of these princes waded to the throne through the blood of their predecessors.

They are usually called Seleucides, from Seleucus, who reigned the first in Syria. History reckons up six kings of this name, and thirteen who are called by that of Antiochus; but they are all distinguished by different surnames. Others of them assumed different names, and the last was called Antiochus XIII. with the surnames of Epiphanes, Asiaticus, and Commagenes. In his reign Pompey reduced Syria into a Roman province, after it had been governed by kings for the space of 250 years, according to Eusebius.

The kings of Syria, the transactions of whose reigns are contained in the sixth and seventh volumes, are eight in number.

Seleucus Nicanor. He reigned 20 years—A. M. 3704.

Antiochus Soter, 19.—A. M. 3724.

Antiochus Theos, 15.—A. M. 3743.

Seleucus Callinicus, 20.—A. M. 3758.

Seleucus Ceraunus, 3.—A. M. 3778.

Antiochus the Great, 36.—A. M. 3781.

Seleucus Philopator, 12.—A. M. 3817.

Antiochus Epiphanes, brother of Seleucus Philopator, 11.—A. M. 3829.

III. THE KINGDOM OF MACEDONIA.

*Macedonia frequently changed its maſters, after the ſolemn partition had been made between the four princes. Caſſander died three or four years after that partition, and left three ſons. Philip, the eldeſt, died preſently after his father. The other two contended for the crown without enjoying it, both dying ſoon after without iſſue.

† Demetrius Poliorcetes, Pyrrhus, and Lyſimachus, made themſelves maſters of all, or the greateſt part of Macedonia; ſometimes in conjunction, and at other times ſeparately.

‡After the death of Lyſimachus, Seleucus poſſeſſed himſelf of Macedonia, but did not long enjoy it.

§Ptolemy Ceraunus, having ſlain the preceding prince, ſeized the kingdom, and poſſeſſed it alone but a very ſhort time, having loſt his life in a battle with the Gauls, who had made an irruption into that country.

‖Softhenes, who defeated the Gauls, reigned but a ſhort time in Macedonia.

**Antigonus Gonatus, the ſon of Demetrius Poliorcetes, obtained the peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Macedonia, and tranſmitted theſe dominions to his deſcendants, after he had reigned 34 years.

††He was ſucceeded by his ſon Demetrius, who reigned 10 years, and then died, leaving a ſon named Philip, who was but two years old.

‡‡Antigonus Doſon reigned 12 years in the quality of guardian to the young prince.

§§Philip, after the death of Antigonus, aſcended the throne at the age of fourteen years, and reigned ſomething more than forty.

‖‖‖His ſon Perſeus ſucceeded him, and reigned about 11 years. He was defeated and taken priſoner by Paulus Emilius; and Macedonia, in conſequence of that victory, was added to the provinces of the Roman empire.

IV. THE KINGDOM OF THRACE AND BITHYNIA, &c.

This fourth kingdom, compoſed of ſeveral ſeparate provinces very remote from one another, had not any ſucceſſion of princes, and did not long ſubſiſt in its firſt condition. Lyſi-

* A.M. 3707. † A.M. 3710. ‡ A.M. 3723.
§ A.M. 3724. ‖ A.M. 3726. ** A.M 3728.
†† A.M. 3762. ‡‡ A.M. 3772. §§ A.M. 3784.
‖‖‖ A.M. 3824.

machus,

machus, who firſt obtained it, having been killed in a battle after a reign of 20 years, and all his family being exterminated by aſſaſſinations, his dominions were diſmembered, and no longer conſtituted one kingdom.

Beſide the provinces which were divided among the captains of Alexander, there were others which had been either formed before, or were then erected into different and independent Grecian ſtates, whoſe power greatly increaſed in proceſs of time.

KINGS OF BITHYNIA.

*Whilſt Alexander was extending his conqueſts in the Eaſt, Zypethes had laid the foundation of the kingdom of Bithynia. It is not certain who this Zypethes was, unleſs we may conjecture with Pauſanias, that he was a Thracian. His ſucceſſors, however, are better known.

†Nicomedes I. This prince invited the Gauls to aſſiſt him againſt his brother with whom he was engaged in a war.

Pruſias I.

‡Pruſias II. ſurnamed the Hunter, in whoſe court Hannibal took refuge, and aſſiſted him with his counſels, in his war againſt Eumenes II. king of Pergamus.

Nicomedes II. was killed by his ſon Socrates.

Nicomedes III. was aſſiſted by the Romans in his wars with Mithridates, and bequeathed to them at his death the kingdom of Bithynia, as a teſtimonial of his gratitude to them; by which means theſe territories became a Roman province.

KINGS OF PERGAMUS.

This kingdom comprehended only one of the ſmalleſt provinces of Myſia, on the coaſt of the Ægean ſea, againſt the iſland of Leſbos.

§This kingdom was founded by Philatera, an eunuch, who had been a ſervant to Docima, a commander of the troops of Antigonus. Lyſimachus confided to him the treaſures he had depoſited in the caſtle of the city of Pergamus, and he became maſter both of theſe and the city after the death of that prince. He governed this little ſovereignty for the ſpace of 20 years, and then left it to Eumenes, his nephew.

||Eumenes I. enlarged his principality by the addition of ſeveral cities, which he took from the kings of Syria, having

* A.M. 3686. † A.M. 3726. ‡ A.M. 3840.
§ A.M. 3726. || A.M. 3721.

defeated

defeated Antiochus, the ſon of Seleucus, in a battle. He reigned twelve years.

* He was ſucceeded by Attalus I. his couſin-german, who aſſumed the title of King after he had conquered the Galatians; and he tranſmitted his dominions to his poſterity, who enjoyed them to the third generation. He aſſiſted the Romans in their war with Philip, and died after a reign of 43 years. He left four ſons.

† His ſucceſſor was Eumenes II. his eldeſt ſon, who founded the famous library of Pergamus. He reigned 39 years, and left the crown to his brother Attalus, in the quality of guardian to one of his ſons, whom he had by Stratonice, the ſiſter of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. The Romans enlarged his dominions conſiderably, after the victory he obtained over Antiochus the Great.

‡ Attalus II. eſpouſed Stratonice, his brother's widow, and took extraordinary care of his nephew, to whom he left the crown, after he had worn it 21 years.

§ Attalus III. furnamed Philometer, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his barbarous and extravagant conduct. He died after he had reigned five years, and bequeathed his riches and dominions to the Romans.

‖ Ariſtonicus, who claimed the ſucceſſion, endeavoured to defend his pretenſions againſt the Romans, but the kingdom of Pergamus was reduced, after a war of four years, into a Roman province.

KINGS OF PONTUS.

** The kingdom of Pontus in Aſia Minor was anciently diſmembered from the monarchy of Perſia, by Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, in favour of Artabazus, who is ſaid, by ſome hiſtorians, to have been the ſon of one of thoſe Perſian lords who conſpired againſt the Magi.

Pontus is a region of Aſia Minor, and is ſituated partly along the coaſt of the Euxine ſea, *Pontus Euxinus*, from which it derives its name. It extends as far as the river Halys, and even to Colchis. Several princes reigned in that country ſince Artabazus.

†† The ſixth monarch is Mithridates I. who is properly con-

* A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241.
† A. M 3807. Ant. J. C. 197.
‡ A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159.
§ A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138.
‖ A. M. 3871. Ant. J. C. 133.
** A. M. 3490. Ant. J. C. 514.
†† A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.

ſidered.

ſidered as the founder of this kingdom of Pontus, and his name was aſſumed by the generality of his ſucceſſors.

* He was ſucceeded by his ſon Ariobarzanes, who had governed Phrygia under Artaxerxes Mnemon, and reigned twenty-ſix years.

† His ſucceſſor was Mithridates II. Antigonus ſuſpecting, in conſequence of a dream, that he favoured Caſſander, had determined to deſtroy him, but he eluded the danger by flight. This prince was called Κτίστης, or *the Founder*, and reigned thirty-five years.

‡ Mithridates III. ſucceeded him, added Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to his dominions, and reigned thirty-ſix years.

After the reign of two other kings, Mithridates, the great-grandfather of Mithridates the Great, aſcended the throne, and eſpouſed a daughter of Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, by whom he had Laodice, who was married to Antiochus the Great.

§ He was ſucceeded by his ſon Pharnaces, who had ſome diſagreement with the kings of Pergamus. He made himſelf maſter of Sinope, which afterwards became the capital of the kingdom of Pontus.

After him reigned Mithridates V. and the firſt who was called a Friend to the Romans, becauſe he aſſiſted them againſt the Carthaginians in the third Punic war.

‖ He was ſucceeded by his ſon Mithridates VI. ſurnamed Eupater. This is the great Mithridates who ſuſtained ſo long a war with the Romans, and reigned 66 years.

KINGS OF CAPPADOCIA.

Strabo ** informs us, that Cappadocia was divided into two Satrapies, or governments, under the Perſians, as it alſo was under the Macedonians. The maritime part of Cappadocia formed the kingdom of Pontus: the other tracts conſtituted Cappadocia, properly ſo called, or the Cappadocia Major, which extends along mount Taurus, and to a great diſtance beyond it.

†† When Alexander's captains divided the provinces of his empire among themſelves, Cappadocia was governed by a prince named Ariarathes. Perdiccas attacked and defeated him, after which he cauſed him to be ſlain.

* A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363.
† A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337.
‡ A. M. 3702. Ant. J. C. 302.
§ A. M. 3819. Ant. J. C. 185.
‖ A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124.
** Strab. l. xii. p. 534.
†† A. M. 3682. Ant. J. C. 322.

His

His ſon Ariarathes re-entered the kingdom of his father ſome time after this event, and eſtabliſhed himſelf ſo effectually, that he left it to his poſterity.

The generality of his ſucceſſors aſſumed the ſame name, and will have their place in the ſeries of the hiſtory.

Cappadocia, after the death of Archelaus, the laſt of its kings, became a province of the Roman empire, as the reſt of Aſia alſo did much about the ſame time.

KINGS OF ARMENIA.

Armenia, a vaſt country of Aſia, extending on each ſide of the Euphrates, was conquered by the Perſians; after which it was transferred, with the reſt of the empire, to the Macedonians, and at laſt fell to the ſhare of the Romans. It was governed for a great length of time by its own kings, the moſt conſiderable of whom was Tigranes, who eſpouſed the daughter of the great Mithridates, king of Pontus, and was alſo engaged in a long war with the Romans. This kingdom ſupported itſelf many years, between the Roman and Parthian empires, ſometimes depending on the one, and ſometimes on the other, till at laſt the Romans became its maſters.

KINGS OF EPIRUS.

Epirus is a province of Greece, ſeparated from Theſſaly and Macedonia by mount Pindus. The moſt powerful people of this country were the Moloſſians.

The kings of Epirus pretended to derive their deſcent from Pyrrhus, the ſon of Achilles, who eſtabliſhed himſelf in that country, and called themſelves Æacides, from Æacus, the grandfather of Achilles.

* The genealogy of the laſt kings, who were the only ſovereigns of this country of whom any accounts remain, is variouſly related by authors, and conſequently muſt be dubious and obſcure.

Arymbas aſcended the throne, after a long ſucceſſion of kings; and as he was then very young, the ſtates of Epirus, who were ſenſible that the welfare of the people depended on the proper education of their princes, ſent him to Athens, which was the reſidence and centre of all the arts and ſciences, in order to cultivate, in that excellent ſchool, ſuch knowledge as was neceſſary to form the mind of a king. He there learned the art of reigning effectually, and † as he ſurpaſſed all his

* Diod l. xvi. p. 465. Juſtin. viii. c. 6. Plut. in Pyrrho.

† Quanto doctior majoribus, tanto et gratior populo fuit. Juſtin. l. xvii. c. 3.

anceſtors

anceſtors in ability and knowledge, he was in conſequence infinitely more eſteemed and beloved by his people than they had been. When he returned from Athens, he made laws, eſtabliſhed a ſenate and magiſtracy, and regulated the form of the government.

Neoptolemus, whoſe daughter Olympias had eſpouſed Philip, king of Macedon, attained an equal ſhare in the regal government of Arymbas, his elder brother, by the credit of his ſon-in-law. After the death of Arymbas, Æacides, his ſon, ought to have been his ſucceſſor; but Philip had ſtill the credit to procure his expulſion from the kingdom by the Moloſſians, who eſtabliſhed Alexander the ſon of Neoptolemus ſole monarch of Epirus.

Alexander eſpouſed Cleopatra, the daughter of Philip, and marched with an army into Italy, where he loſt his life in the country of the Brutians.

Æacides then aſcended the throne, and reigned without any aſſociate in Epirus. He eſpouſed Phthia, the daughter of Menon, the Theſſalian, by whom he had two daughters, Deidamia and Troida, and one ſon, the celebrated Pyrrhus.

As he was marching to the aſſiſtance of Olympias, his troops mutinied againſt him, condemned him to exile, and ſlaughtered moſt of his friends. Pyrrhus, who was then an infant, happily eſcaped this maſſacre.

Neoptolemus, a prince of the blood, but whoſe particular extraction is little known, was placed on the throne by the people of Epirus.

Pyrrhus, being recalled by his ſubjects at the age of twelve years, firſt ſhared the ſovereignty with Neoptolemus; but having afterwards diveſted him of his dignity, he reigned alone.

* This hiſtory will treat of the various adventures of this prince. He died in the city of Argos, in an attack to make himſelf maſter of it.

Helenus, his ſon, reigned after him for ſome time in Epirus, which was afterwards united to the Roman empire.

TYRANTS OF HERACLEA.

Heraclea is a city of Pontus, anciently founded by the Bœotians, who ſent a colony into that country by the order of an oracle.

‡ When the Athenians were victorious over the Perſians, and had impoſed a tribute on the cities of Greece and Aſia

* A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 271. Diod. l. xv. p. 390.

† Juſtin. l. xvi. c. 3—5.

Minor,

Minor, for the fitting out and ſupport of a fleet intended for the defence of the common liberty, the inhabitants of Heraclea, in conſequence of their attachment to the Perſians, were the only people who refuſed to acquieſce in ſo juſt a contribution. Lamachus was therefore ſent againſt them, and he ravaged their territories; but a violent tempeſt having deſtroyed his whole fleet, he beheld himſelf abandoned to the mercy of that people, whoſe natural ferocity might well have been increaſed, by the ſevere treatment they had lately received. But * they had recourſe to no other vengeance but benefactions; they furniſhed him with proviſions and troops for his return, and were willing to conſider the depredations which had been committed in their country as advantageous to them, if they acquired the friendſhip of the Athenians at that price.

† Some time after this event, the populace of Heraclea excited a violent commotion againſt the rich citizens aud ſenators, who having implored aſſiſtance to no effect, firſt from Timotheus the Athenian, and afterwards from Epaminondas the Theban, were neceſſitated to recal Clearchus, a ſenator, to their defence, whom themſelves had baniſhed; but his exile had neither improved his morals, nor rendered him a better citizen than he was before. He therefore made the troubles, in which he found the city involved, ſubſervient to his deſign of ſubjecting it to his own power. With this view he openly declared for the people, cauſed himſelf to be inveſted with the higheſt office in the magiſtracy, and aſſumed a ſovereign authority in a ſhort time. Being thus become a profeſſed tyrant, there were no kinds of violence to which he had not recourſe againſt the rich and the ſenators, to ſatiate his avarice and cruelty. He propoſed for his model Dionyſius the Tyrant, who had eſtabliſhed his power over the Syracuſans at the ſame time.

After a hard and inhuman ſervitude of 12 years, two young citizens, who were Plato's diſciples, and had been inſtructed in his maxims, formed a conſpiracy againſt Clearchus, and ſlew him; but though they delivered their country from the tyrant, the tyranny ſtill ſubſiſted.

‡ Timotheus, the ſon of Clearchus, aſſumed his place, and purſued his conduct for the ſpace of 15 years.

§ He was ſucceeded by his brother Dionyſius, who was in

* Heraclienſes honeſtiorem beneficii, quàm ultionis occaſionem rati, inſtructos commeatibus auxiliiſque dimittunt: bene agrorum ſuorum populationem impenſam exiſtimentes ſi, quos hoſtes habuerant, reddidiſſent. Juſtin.

† A.M. 3640. Ant. J. C. 364. ‡ A.M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352.
§ A.M. 3067. Ant. J. C. 33. 7 Diod. l. xvi. p. 435.

danger

danger of being diſpoſſeſſed of his authority by Perdiccas; but as this laſt was ſoon deſtroyed, * Dionyſius contracted a friendſhip with Antigonus, whom he aſſiſted againſt Ptolemy in the Cyprian war.

He eſpouſed Amaſtris, the widow of Craterus, and daughter of Oxiathres, the brother of Darius. This alliance inſpired him with ſo much courage, that he aſſumed the title of King, and enlarged his dominions by the addition of ſeveral places which he ſeized on the confines of Heraclea.

† He died two or three years before the battle of Ipſus, and after a reign of 33 years, leaving two ſons and a daughter under the tutelage and regency of Amaſtris.

This princeſs was rendered happy in her adminiſtration, by the affection Antigonus entertained for her. She founded a city, and called it by her name; after which ſhe tranſplanted thither the inhabitants of three other cities, and eſpouſed Lyſimachus, after the death of Antigonus.

KINGS OF SYRACUSE.

‡ Hiero, and his ſon Hieronymus, reigned at Syracuſe; the firſt 54 years, and the ſecond but one year.

§ Syracuſe recovered its liberty by the death of the laſt, but continued in the intereſt of the Carthaginians, which Hieronymus had cauſed it to eſpouſe. His conduct obliged Marcellus to form the ſiege of that city, which he took the following year ‖. I ſhall enlarge upon the hiſtory of theſe two kings in another place.

OTHER KINGS.

Several kings likewiſe reigned in the Cimmerian Boſphorus, as alſo in Thrace, Cyrene in Africa, Paphlagonia, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, and a variety of other places; but their hiſtory is very uncertain, and their ſucceſſions have but little regularity.

Theſe circumſtances are very different with reſpect to the kingdom of the Parthians, who formed themſelves, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, into ſuch a powerful monarchy, as became formidable even to the Roman empire. That of the Bactrians received its original about the ſame period; I ſhall treat of each in their proper places.

* Diod. l. xvi. p. 478.
‡ A.M. 3735. Ant. J. C. 269.
‖ A.M. 3791. Ant. J. C. 213.
† A.M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304.
§ A.M. 3780. Ant. J. C. 224.

CATALOGUE

OF THE

EDITIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL GREEK AUTHORS

CITED IN THIS WORK.

Herodotus.—Francof. An. 1608.
Thucydides.—Apud Henricum Stephanum, An. 1588.
Xenophon.—Lutetiæ Parisiorum, apud Societatem Græcarum Editionum, An. 1625.
Polybius.—Parisiis, An. 1609.
Diodorus Siculus.—Hanoviæ, Typis Wechelianis, An. 1604.
Plutarchus.—Lutetiæ Parisiorum, apud Societatem Græcarum Editionum, An. 1624.
Strabo.—Lutetiæ Parisiorum, Typis regiis, An. 1620.
Athenæus.—Lugduni, An. 1612.
Pausanias.—Hanoviæ, Typis Wechelianis, An. 1613.
Appianus Alexander.—Apud Henric. Stephan. An. 1592.
Plato.—Ex nova Joannis Serrani interpretatione. Apud Henricum Stephanum, An. 1578.
Aristoteles.—Lutetiæ Parisiorum, apud Societatem Græcarum Editionum, An. 1619.
Isocrates.—Apud Paulum Stephanum, An. 1604.
Diogenes Laërtius.—Apud Henricum Stephanum, An. 1594.

BOOK FIRST.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE EGYPTIANS.

PLAN.

I shall divide what I have to say upon the Egyptians into three parts.—The first contains a concise description of the different parts of Egypt, and of what is most remarkable in it. In the second I treat of the customs, laws, and religion of the Egyptians; and in the third, I give the history of their kings.

PART FIRST.

THE DESCRIPTION OF EGYPT: WITH AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT IS MOST CURIOUS AND REMARKABLE IN THAT COUNTRY.

EGYPT comprehended anciently, within limits of no very great extent, a * prodigious number of cities, and an incredible multitude of inhabitants.

It is bounded on the east by the Red Sea and the Isthmus of Suez; on the south by Ethiopia, on the west by Lybia, and on the north by the Mediterranean. The Nile runs from south to north, through the whole country, about 200 leagues in length. This country is inclosed on each side with a ridge of mountains, which very often leave, between the foot of the hills and the river Nile, a tract of ground, of not above half a day's journey in length †, and sometimes less.

On the west side, the plain grows wider in some places, and extends to 25 or 30 leagues. The greatest breadth of Egypt is from Alexandria to Damietta, being about 50 leagues.

Ancient Egypt may be divided into three principal parts: Upper Egypt, otherwise called Thebais, which was the most

* It is related that under Amasis, there were 20,000 inhabited cities in Egypt. Her. l. ii. c. 177.

† A day's journey is 24 eastern, or 33 English miles and a quarter.

ſouthern part; Middle Egypt, or Heptanomis, ſo called from the ſeven Nomi, or diſtricts, it contained; Lower Egypt, which included what the Greeks called Delta, and all the country as far as the Red Sea, and along the Mediterranean to Rhinocolura, or Mount Caſius. * Under Seſoſtris, all Egypt became one kingdom, and was divided into thirty-ſix governments, or Nomi; ten in Thebais, ten in Delta, and ſixteen in the country between both.

The cities of Syene and Elephantina divided Egypt from Ethiopia, and in the days of Auguſtus were the boundaries of the Roman empire: *Clauſtra olim Romani Imperii*, Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 61.

CHAPTER I.

THEBAIS.

THEBES, from whence Thebais had its name, might vie with the nobleſt cities in the univerſe. Its 100 gates, celebrated by Homer†, are univerſally known, and acquired it the ſurname of Hecatonpylos, to diſtinguiſh it from the other Thebes in Bœotia. ‡ It was equally large and populous; and, according to hiſtory, could ſend out at once 200 chariots, and 10,000 fighting men at each of its gates. § The Greeks and Romans have celebrated its magnificence and grandeur, though they ſaw it only in its ruins; ſo auguſt were the remains of this city.

‖ In Thebes, now called Said, have been diſcovered temples and palaces which are ſtill almoſt entire, adorned with innumerable columns and ſtatues. One palace eſpecially is admired, the remains whereof ſeem to have exiſted purely to eclipſe the glory of the moſt pompous edifices. Four walks extending farther than the eye can ſee, and bounded on each ſide with ſphinxes, compoſed of materials as rare and extraordinary as their ſize is remarkable, ſerve for avenues to four porticoes, whoſe height is amazing to behold. Beſides, they who give us the deſcription of this wonderful edifice, had not time to go round it, and are not ſure that they ſaw above half: however, what they had a ſight of was aſtoniſhing. A hall, which in all appearance ſtood in the middle of this ſtately palace, was ſupported by 120 pillars, ſix fathoms round, of

* Strab. l. xvii. p. 787.
‡ Strab. l. xvii. p. 816.
‖ Thevenot's Travels.
† Hom. Il. i. ver. 381.
§ Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 60.

a pro-

a proportionable height, and intermixed with obeliſks, which ſo many ages have not been able to demoliſh. Painting had diſplayed all her art and magnificence in this edifice. The colours themſelves, which ſooneſt feel the injury of time, ſtill remain amidſt the ruins of this wonderful ſtructure, and preſerve their beauty and luſtre; ſo happily could the Egyptians imprint a character of immortality on all their works. * Strabo, who was on the ſpot, deſcribes a temple he ſaw in Egypt, very much reſembling that of which I have been ſpeaking.

The ſame † author, deſcribing the curioſities of Thebais, ſpeaks of a very famous ſtatue of Memnon, the remains whereof he had ſeen. It is ſaid that this ſtatue, when the beams of the riſing ſun firſt ſhone upon it in the morning, uttered an articulate ſound‡. And indeed Strabo himſelf was an ear-witneſs of this; but then he doubts whether the ſound came from the ſtatue.

CHAPTER II.

MIDDLE EGYPT, OR HEPTANOMIS.

MEMPHIS was the capital of this part of Egypt. Here were many ſtately temples, eſpecially that of the god Apis, who was honoured in this city after a particular manner. I ſhall ſpeak of it hereafter, as well as of the pyramids, which ſtood in the neighbourhood of this place, and rendered it ſo famous. Memphis was ſituated on the weſt ſide of the Nile.

§ Grand Cairo, which ſeems to have ſucceeded Memphis, was built on the other ſide of that river. The caſtle of Cairo is one of the greateſt curioſities in Egypt. It ſtands on a hill without the city, has a rock for its foundation, and is ſurrounded with walls of a vaſt height and ſolidity. You go up to the caſtle by a way hewn out of the rock, and which is ſo eaſy of aſcent, that loaded horſes and camels get up without difficulty. The greateſt rarity in this caſtle is Joſeph's well, ſo called, either becauſe the Egyptians are pleaſed with aſcribing their moſt remarkable particulars to that great man, or becauſe there is really ſuch a tradition in the country. This is a proof, at leaſt, that the work in queſtion is very ancient; and it is

* Lib. xvii. p. 805. † P. 816.

‡ Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum præcipua fuere Memnonis ſaxea effigies, ubi radiis ſolis icta eſt, vocalem ſonum reddens, &c. Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 61. § Thevenot.

certainly worthy the magnificence of the moſt powerful kings of Egypt. This well has, as it were, two ſtories, cut out of the rock to a prodigious depth. One deſcends to the reſervoir of water, between the two wells, by a ſtair-caſe, ſeven or eight feet broad, conſiſting of 220 ſteps, and ſo contrived, that the oxen employed to throw up the water, go down with all imaginable eaſe, the deſcent being ſcarce perceptible. The well is ſupplied from a ſpring, which is almoſt the only one in the whole country. The oxen are continually turning a wheel with a rope, to which buckets are faſtened. The water thus drawn from the firſt and lowermoſt well, is conveyed by a little canal, into a reſervoir, which forms the ſecond well; from whence it is drawn to the top in the ſame manner, and then conveyed by pipes to all parts of the caſtle. As this well is ſuppoſed by the inhabitants of the country to be of great antiquity, and has indeed much of the antique manner of the Egyptians, I thought it might deſerve a place among the curioſities of ancient Egypt.

* Strabo ſpeaks of ſuch an engine, which, by wheels and pullies, threw up the water of the Nile to the top of a vaſt high hill; with this difference, that, inſtead of oxen, 150 ſlaves were employed to turn theſe wheels.

The part of Egypt of which we ſpeak, is famous for ſeveral rarities, each of which deſerves a particular examination. I ſhall relate only the principal, ſuch as the Obeliſks, the Pyramids, the Labyrinth, the Lake of Mœris, and the Nile.

SECTION I.

THE OBELISKS.

Egypt ſeemed to place its chief glory in raiſing monuments for poſterity. Its obeliſks form at this day, on account of their beauty as well as height, the principal ornament of Rome; and the Roman power, deſpairing to equal the Egyptians, thought it honour enough to borrow the monuments of their kings.

An obeliſk is a quadrangular, taper, high ſpire or pyramid, raiſed perpendicularly, and terminating in a point, to ſerve as an ornament to ſome open ſquare, and is very often covered with inſcriptions or hieroglyphics, that is, with myſtical characters or ſymbols uſed by the Egyptians to conceal and diſguiſe their ſacred things, and the myſteries of their theology.

* Lib. xvii. p. 807.

Seſoſtris

* Sesostris erected in the city of Heliopolis two obelisks of exceeding hard stone, brought from the quarries of Syene, at the extremity of Egypt. They were each 120 cubits high, that is, 30 fathoms, or 180 feet †. The emperor Augustus, having made Egypt a province of the empire, caused these two obelisks to be transported to Rome, one whereof was afterwards broken to pieces. ‡ He durst not venture upon a third, which was of a monstrous size. It was made in the reign of Ramises: It is said that 20,000 men were employed in the cutting of it. Constantius, more daring than Augustus, ordered it to be removed to Rome. Two of these obelisks are still seen, as well as another of 100 cubits, or 25 fathoms high, and 8 cubits or 2 fathoms in diameter. § Caius Cæsar had it brought from Egypt in a ship of so odd a form, that, according to Pliny, the like had never been seen.

Every part of Egypt abounded with this kind of obelisks: They were for the most part cut in the quarries of Upper Egypt, where some are now to be seen half finished. But the most wonderful circumstance is, that the ancient Egyptians should have had the art and contrivance to dig even in the very quarry a canal, through which the water of the Nile ran in the time of its inundation; from whence they afterwards raised up the columns, obelisks and statues on ‖ rafts, proportioned to their weight, in order to convey them into Lower Egypt. And as the country abounded every-where with canals, there were few places to which those huge bodies might not be carried with ease; although their weight would have broke every other kind of engine.

SECTION II.

THE PYRAMIDS.

A PYRAMID** is a solid or hollow body, having a large, and generally a square base, and terminating in a point.

There were three pyramids in Egypt more famous than the rest, one whereof †† deserved to be ranked among the seven wonders of the world; they did not stand very far from the

* Diod. lib. i. p. 37.

† It is proper to observe, once for all, that an Egyptian cubit, according to Mr. Greaves, was one foot nine inches and about three-fourths of our measure.

‡ Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 8, 9. § Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 9.

‖ Rafts are pieces of flat timber put together, to carry goods on rivers.

** Herod. l. ii. c. 124, &c. Diod. l. i. p. 39—41. Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 12.

†† Vide Diod. Sic.

city

city of Memphis. I ſhall take notice here only of the largeſt of the three. This pyramid, like the reſt, was built on a rock, having a ſquare baſe, cut on the outſide as ſo many ſteps, and decreaſing gradually quite to the ſummit. It was built with ſtones of a prodigious ſize, the leaſt of which were 30 feet long, wrought with wonderful art, and covered with hieroglyphics. According to ſeveral ancient authors, each ſide was 800 feet broad, and as many high. The ſummit of the pyramid, which to thoſe who viewed it from below ſeemed a point, was a fine platform, compoſed of ten or twelve maſſy ſtones, and each ſide of that platform 16 or 18 feet long.

M. de Chazelles, of the Academy of Sciences, who went purpoſely on the ſpot in 1693, gives us the following dimenſions:

The ſide of the ſquare baſe	110 fathoms.
The fronts are equilateral triangles, and therefore the ſuperficies of the baſe is	12,100 ſquare fathoms.
The perpendicular height	77$\frac{3}{4}$ fathoms.
The ſolid contents	313,590 cubical fathoms.

100,000 men were conſtantly employed about this work, and were relieved every three months by the ſame number. Ten complete years were ſpent in hewing out the ſtones, either in Arabia or Ethiopia, and in conveying them to Egypt; and twenty years more in building this immenſe edifice, the inſide of which contained numberleſs rooms and apartments. There were expreſſed on the pyramid, in Egyptian characters, the ſums it coſt only in garlic, leeks, onions, and the like, for the workmen; and the whole amounted to 1,600 talents of ſilver*, that is, 4,500,000 French livres; from whence it was eaſy to conjecture what the whole muſt have amounted to.

Such were the famous Egyptian pyramids, which, by their figure as well as ſize, have triumphed over the injuries of time and the Barbarians. But what efforts ſoever men may make, their nothingneſs will always appear. Theſe pyramids were tombs; and there is ſtill to be ſeen, in the middle of the largeſt, an empty ſepulchre, cut out of one entire ſtone, about three feet deep and broad, and a little above ſix feet long †. Thus all this buſtle, all this expence, and all the labours of ſo many thouſand men, ended in procuring a prince, in this vaſt and almoſt boundleſs pile of building, a little vault ſix feet in length. Beſides, the kings who built theſe pyramids had it not in their power to be buried in them, and ſo did not enjoy the ſepulchre

* About 25,000l. Sterling.

† Strabo mentions the ſepulchre, Lib. xvii. p. 808.

they

they had built. The public hatred which they incurred, by reaſon of their unheard-of cruelties to their ſubjects, in laying ſuch heavy taſks upon them, occaſioned their being interred in ſome obſcure place, to prevent their bodies from being expoſed to the fury and vengeance of the populace.

* This laſt circumſtance, which hiſtorians have taken particular notice of, teaches us what judgment we ought to paſs on theſe edifices, ſo much boaſted of by the ancients. It is but juſt to remark and eſteem the noble genius which the Egyptians had for architecture; a genius that prompted them, from the earlieſt times, and before they could have any models to imitate, to aim in all things at the grand and magnificent; and to be intent on real beauties, without deviating in the leaſt from a noble ſimplicity, in which the higheſt perfection of the art conſiſts. But what idea ought we to form of thoſe princes, who conſidered as ſomething grand, the raiſing by a multitude of hands, and by the help of money, immenſe ſtructures, with the ſole view of rendering their names immortal; and who did not ſcruple to deſtroy thouſands of their ſubjects to ſatisfy their vain-glory! They differed very much from the Romans, who ſought to immortalize themſelves by works of a magnificent kind, but, at the ſame time, of public utility.

† Pliny gives us, in few words, a juſt idea of theſe pyramids, when he calls them a fooliſh and uſeleſs oſtentation of the wealth of the Egyptian kings: *Regnum pecuniæ otioſa ac ſtultâ oſtentatio*: and adds, that by a juſt puniſhment their memory is buried in oblivion; the hiſtorians not agreeing among themſelves about the names of thoſe who firſt raiſed thoſe vain monuments. *Inter eos non conſtat a quibus factæ ſint, juſtiſſimo caſu obliteratis tantæ vanitatis auctoribus.* In a word, according to the judicious remark of Diodorus, the induſtry of the architects of thoſe pyramids is no leſs valuable and praiſe-worthy, than the deſign of the Egyptian kings contemptible and ridiculous.

But what we ſhould moſt admire in theſe ancient monuments, is, the true and ſtanding evidence they give of the ſkill of the Egyptians in aſtronomy; that is, in a ſcience which ſeems incapable of being brought to perfection, but by a long ſeries of years, and a great number of obſervations. M. de Chazelles, when he meaſured the great pyramid in queſtion, found that the four ſides of it were turned exactly to the four quarters of the world; and conſequently ſhewed the true meri-

* Diod. lib. i. p. 40. † Lib. xxxvi. cap. 12.

dian

dian of that place. Now, as ſo exact a ſituation was in all probability purpoſely pitched upon by thoſe who piled up this huge maſs of ſtones, above three thouſand years ago, it follows, that, during ſo long a ſpace of time, there has been no alteration in the heavens in that reſpect, or, which amounts to the ſame thing, in the poles of the earth or the meridians. This is M. de Fontenelle's remark in his eulogium of M. de Chazelles.

SECTION III.

THE LABYRINTH.

WHAT * has been ſaid concerning the judgment we ought to form of the pyramids, may alſo be applied to the labyrinth, which Herodotus, who ſaw it, aſſures us was ſtill more ſurpriſing than the pyramids. It was built at the moſt ſouthern part of the lake of Mœris, whereof mention will be made preſently, near the town of Crocodiles, the ſame with Arſinoë. It was not ſo much one ſingle palace, as a magnificent pile compoſed of twelve palaces, regularly diſpoſed, which had a communication with each other. Fifteen hundred rooms, interſperſed with terraces, were ranged round twelve halls, and diſcovered no outlet to ſuch as went to ſee them. There were the like number of buildings under ground. Theſe ſubterraneous ſtructures were deſigned for the burying-place of the kings, and (Who can ſpeak this without confuſion, and without deploring the blindneſs of man?) for keeping the ſacred crocodiles, which a nation, ſo wiſe in other reſpects, worſhipped as gods.

In order to viſit the rooms and halls of the labyrinth, it was neceſſary, as the reader will naturally ſuppoſe, for people to take the ſame precaution as Ariadne made Theſeus uſe, when he was obliged to go and fight the Minotaur in the labyrinth of Crete. Virgil deſcribes it in this manner:

Ut † quondam Creta fertur labyrinthus in alta
Parietibus textum cœcis iter ancipitemque
Mille viis habuiſſe dolum, qua ſigna ſequendi
Falleret indeprenſus et irremeabilis error.
Hic ‡ labor, ille domus et inextricabilis error.
Dædalus ipſe dolos tecti ambageſque reſolvit,
Cæca regens filo veſtigia.

* Herod. l. ii. c. 148. Diod. l. i. p. 42. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 13. Strab. l. xvii. p. 811. † Virg. l. v. ver. 588, &c. ‡ Ibid. l. vi. ver. 27. &c.

SECTION

SECTION IV.

THE LAKE OF MOERIS.

The * nobleſt and moſt wonderful of all the ſtructures or works of the kings of Egypt was the lake of Mœris: accordingly, Herodotus conſiders it as vaſtly ſuperior to the pyramids and labyrinth. As Egypt was more or leſs fruitful in proportion to the inundations of the Nile, and as in theſe floods the too general flow or ebb of the waters were equally fatal to the lands, king Mœris, to prevent theſe two inconveniences, and correct, as far as lay in his power, the irregularities of the Nile, thought proper to call art to the aſſiſtance of nature, and ſo cauſed the lake to be dug, which afterwards went by his name. It † was about 600 ſtadia, that is, about 180 French leagues in circumference, and 300 feet deep. Two pyramids, on each of which ſtood a coloſſal ſtatue, ſeated on a throne, raiſed their heads to the height of 300 feet, in the midſt of the lake, whilſt their foundations took up the ſame ſpace under the water; a proof that they were erected before the cavity was filled, and a demonſtration that a lake of ſuch vaſt extent was the work of man's hands, in one prince's reign. This is what ſeveral hiſtorians have related concerning the lake Mœris, on the teſtimony of the inhabitants of the country; and the biſhop of Meaux, in his diſcourſe on Univerſal Hiſtory, relates the whole as fact. With regard to myſelf, I will confeſs that I do not ſee the leaſt probability in it. Is it poſſible to conceive that a lake of 180 leagues in circumference, could have been dug in the reign of one prince? In what manner, and where could the earth taken from it be conveyed? What ſhould prompt the Egyptians to loſe the ſurface of ſo much land? By what arts could they fill this vaſt tract with the ſuperfluous waters of the Nile? Many other objections might be made. In my opinion, therefore, we ought to follow Pomponius Mela, an ancient geographer; eſpecially as his account is confirmed by ſeveral modern travellers. According to that author, this lake is but 20,000 paces, that is, ſeven or eight French leagues in circumference: ‡ *Mœris, aliquando campus, nunc lacus, viginti millia paſſuum in circuitu patens.*

This lake had a communication with the Nile, by a great

* Herod. l. ii. c. 140. Strab. l. xvii. p. 787. Diod. l. i. p. 47. Plin. l. v. c. 9. Pomp. Mela, l. i.

† Vide Herod. and Diod. Pliny agrees almoſt with them.

‡ Mela, l. i.

canal

canal 4 leagues long*, and 50 feet broad. Great ſluices either opened or ſhut the canal and lake, as there was occaſion.

The charge of opening or ſhutting them amounted to 50 talents, that is, 50,000 French crowns†. The fiſhing of this lake brought the monarch immenſe ſums; but its chief uſe related to the overflowing of the Nile. When it roſe too high, and was like to be attended with fatal conſequences, the ſluices were opened: and the waters having a free paſſage into the lake, covered the lands no longer than was neceſſary to enrich them. On the contrary, when the inundation was too low, and threatened a famine, a ſufficient quantity of water, by the help of drains, was let out of the lake to water the lands. In this manner the irregularities of the Nile were corrected; and Strabo remarks, that, in his time, under Petronius, a governor of Egypt, when the inundation of the Nile was 12 cubits, a very great plenty enſued; and even when it roſe but to 8 cubits, the dearth was ſcarce felt in the country; doubtleſs, becauſe the waters of the lake made up for thoſe of the inundation, by the help of canals and drains.

SECTION V.

THE INUNDATIONS OF THE NILE.

THE Nile is the greateſt wonder in Egypt. As it ſeldom rains there, this river, which waters the whole country by its regular inundations, ſupplies that defect, by bringing, as an yearly tribute, the rains of other countries; which made a poet ſay ingeniouſly, "The Egyptian paſtures, how great ſoever the "drought may be, never implore Jupiter for rain."

Te propter nullos tellus tua poſtulat imbres,
Arida nec pluvio ſupplicat herba Jovi‡.

To multiply ſo beneficent a river, Egypt was cut into numberleſs canals, of a length and breadth proportioned to the different ſituation and wants of the lands. The Nile brought fertility every-where with its ſalutary ſtreams, united cities one with another, and the Mediterranean with the Red Sea; maintained trade at home and abroad, and fortified the kingdom againſt the enemy; ſo that it was at once the nouriſher and protector of Egypt. The fields were delivered up to it; but the cities that were raiſed with immenſe labour, and ſtood

* Eighty-five ſtadia. † L.11,250 ſterling.

‡ Seneca (Nat. Quæſt. l. iv. 2.) aſcribes theſe verſes to Ovid, but they are Tibullus's.

like

like iſlands in the midſt of the waters, looked down with joy on the plains which were overflowed, and at the ſame time enriched by the Nile.

This is a general idea of the nature and effects of this river, ſo famous among the ancients. But a wonder ſo aſtoniſhing in itſelf, and which has been the object of the curioſity and admiration of the learned in all ages, ſeems to require a more particular deſcription, in which I ſhall be as conciſe as poſſible.

I. THE SOURCE OF THE NILE.

The ancients placed the ſources of the Nile in the mountains of the moon (as they are commonly called), in the 10th degree of ſouth latitude. But our modern travellers have diſcovered that they lie in the 12th degree of north latitude: and by that means they cut off about four or five hundred leagues of the courſe which the ancients gave that river. It riſes at the foot of a great mountain in the kingdom of Goyam in Abyſſinia, from two ſprings, or eyes (to ſpeak in the language of the country), the ſame word in Arabic ſignifying eye and fountain. Theſe ſprings are 30 paces from one another, each as large as one of our wells, or a coach-wheel. The Nile is increaſed with many rivulets which run into it; and, after paſſing through Ethiopia in a meandrous courſe, flows at laſt into Egypt.

II. THE CATARACTS OF THE NILE.

That name is given to ſome parts of the Nile, where the water falls down from the ſteep rocks*. This river, which at firſt glides ſmoothly along the vaſt deſerts of Ethiopia, before it enters Egypt, paſſes by the cataracts. Then growing on a ſudden, contrary to its nature, raging and violent in thoſe

* Excipiunt eum (Nilum) cataractæ, nobilis inſigni ſpectaculo locus.—Illic excitatis primum aquis, quas ſine tumultu leni alveo duxerat, violentus et torrens per malignos tranſitus profilit, diſſimilis ſibi——tandemque elactatus obſtantia, in vaſtam altitudinem ſubito deſtitutus cadit, cum ingenti circumjacentium regionum ſtrepitu; quem preferre gens ibi a Perſis collocata non potuit, obtuſis aſſiduo fragore auribus, et ob hoc ſedibus ad quietiora tranſlatis. Inter miracula fluminis incredibilem incolarum audaciam accepi. Bini parvula navigia conſcendunt, quorum alter navem regit, alter exhaurit. Deinde multum inter rapidam inſaniam Nili et reciprocos fluctus volutati, tandem tenuiſſimos canales tenent, per quos anguſta rupium effugiunt: et cum toto flumine effuſi, navigium ruens manu temperant, magnoque ſpectantium metu in caput nixi, cum jam adploráveris, merſoſque atque obrutos tanta mole credideris, longe ab eo in quem ceciderant loco navigant, tormenti modo miſſi. Nec mergit cadens unda, ſed planis aquis tradit. Senec. Nat. Quæſt. l. iv. c. 2.

places where it is pent up and reſtrained, after having at laſt broke through all obſtacles in its way, it precipitates from the top of ſome rocks to the bottom, with ſo loud a noiſe, that it is heard three leagues off.

The inhabitants of the country, accuſtomed by long practice to this ſport, exhibit here a ſpectacle to travellers that is more terrifying than diverting. Two of them go into a little boat; the one to guide it, the other to throw out the water. After having long ſuſtained the violence of the raging waves, by managing their little boat very dexterouſly, they ſuffer themſelves to be carried away with the impetuous torrent as ſwift as an arrow. The affrighted ſpectator imagines they are going to be ſwallowed up in the precipice down which they fall; when the Nile, reſtored to its natural courſe, diſcovers them again, at a conſiderable diſtance, on its ſmooth and calm waters. This is Seneca's account, which is confirmed by our modern travellers.

III. CAUSES OF THE INUNDATIONS OF THE NILE.

*THE ancients have invented many ſubtile reaſons for the Nile's great increaſe, as may be ſeen in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Seneca. But it is now no longer a matter of diſpute, it being almoſt univerſally allowed, that the inundations of the Nile are owing to the great rains which fall in Ethiopia, from whence this river flows. Theſe rains ſwell it to ſuch a degree, that Ethiopia firſt, and then Egypt, are overflowed; and that which at firſt was but a large river, riſes like a ſea, and overſpreads the whole country.

† Strabo obſerves, that the ancients only gueſſed that the inundations of the Nile were owing to the rains which fall in great abundance in Ethiopia; but adds, that ſeveral travellers have ſince been eye-witneſſes of it; Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was very curious in all things relating to arts and ſciences, having ſent thither able perſons, purpoſely to examine this matter, and to aſcertain the cauſe of ſo uncommon and remarkable an effect.

IV. THE TIME AND CONTINUANCE OF THE INUNDATIONS.

‡ Herodotus, and after him Diodorus Siculus, and ſeveral other authors, declare, that the Nile begins to flow in Egypt at the ſummer ſolſtice, that is, about the end of June, and con-

* Herod. l. ii. c. 19—27. Diod. l. i. p. 35—39. Senec. Nat. Quæſt. l. iv. c. 1. & 2. † Lib. xvii. p. 789. ‡ Herod. l. ii. c. 19. Diod. l. i. p. 22.

tinues

tinues to rise till the end of September; and then decreases gradually during the months of October and November; after which it returns to its channel, and resumes its wonted course. This account agrees almost with the relations of all the moderns, and is founded in reality on the natural cause of the inundation, *viz.* the rains which fall in Ethiopia. Now, according to the constant testimony of those who have been on the spot, these rains begin to fall in the month of April, and continue, during five months, till the end of August and beginning of September. The Nile's increase in Egypt must consequently begin three weeks or a month after the rains have begun to fall in Abyssinia; and, accordingly, travellers observe, that the Nile begins to rise in the month of May, but so slowly at the first, that it probably does not yet overflow its banks. The inundation happens not till about the end of June, and lasts the three following months, according to Herodotus.

I must point out to such as consult the originals, a contradiction in this place between Herodotus and Diodorus on one side; and on the other, between Strabo, Pliny, and Solinus. These last shorten very much the continuance of the inundation, and suppose the Nile to draw off from the lands in three months or a hundred days; and that which adds to the difficulty, is, Pliny seems to ground his opinion on the testimony of Herodotus: *In totum autem revocatur Nilus intra ripas in Libra, ut tradit Herodotus, centesimo die.* I leave to the learned the reconciling of this contradiction.

V. THE HEIGHT OF THE INUNDATIONS.

*The just height of the inundation, according to Pliny, is 16 cubits. When it rises but to 12 or 13, a famine is threatened; and when it exceeds 16, there is danger. It must be remembered that a cubit is a foot and a half. †The emperor Julian takes notice, in a letter to Ecdicius, prefect of Egypt, that the height of the Nile's overflowing was 15 cubits, the 20th of September, in 362. The ancients do not agree entirely with one another, nor with the moderns, with regard to the height of the inundation; but the difference is not very considerable, and may proceed, 1. from the disparity between

* Justum incrementum est cubitorum xvi. Minores aquæ non omnia rigant: ampliores detinent, tardius recedendo. Hæ ferendi tempora absumunt solo madente: illæ non dant sitiente. Utrumque reputat provincia. In duodecim cubitis famem sentit, in tredecim etiamnum esurit: quatuordecim cubita hilaritatem afferunt, quindecim securitatem, sexdecim delicias, Plin. l. v. c. 9.

† Jul. Epist. 50.

the ancient and modern meaſures, which it is hard to eſtimate on a fixed and certain foot; 2. from the careleſſneſs of the obſervators and hiſtorians; 3. from the real difference of the Nile's increaſe, which was not ſo great the nearer it approached the ſea.

* As the riches of Egypt depended on the inundation of the Nile, all the circumſtances and different degrees of its increaſe have been carefully conſidered; and by a long ſeries of regular obſervations, made during many years, the inundation itſelf diſcovered what kind of harveſt the enſuing year was likely to produce. The kings had placed at Memphis a meaſure on which theſe different increaſes were marked; and from thence notice was given to all the reſt of Egypt, the inhabitants of which knew, by that means, beforehand, what they might fear or promiſe themſelves from the harveſt. † Strabo ſpeaks of a well on the banks of the Nile, near the town of Syene, made for that purpoſe.

The ſame cuſtom is obſerved to this day at Grand Cairo. In the court of a moſque there ſtands a pillar, on which are marked the degrees of the Nile's increaſe; and common criers every day proclaim in all parts of the city, how high it is riſen. The tribute paid to the Grand Signior for the lands, is ſettled by the inundation. The day it riſes to ſuch a height, is kept as a grand feſtival, and ſolemnized with fire-works, feaſtings, and all the demonſtrations of public rejoicing; and in the remoteſt ages, the overflowing of the Nile was always attended with an univerſal joy throughout all Egypt, that being the fountain of its happineſs.

‡ The heathens aſcribed the inundation of the Nile to their god Serapis; and the pillar on which was marked the increaſe, was preſerved religiouſly in the temple of that idol. The emperor Conſtantine having ordered it to be removed into the church of Alexandria, the Egyptians ſpread a report, that the Nile would riſe no more by reaſon of the wrath of Serapis; but the river overflowed and increaſed as uſual the following years. Julian the apoſtate, a zealous protector of idolatry, cauſed this pillar to be replaced in the ſame temple, out of which it was again removed by the command of Theodoſius.

VI. THE CANALS OF THE NILE AND SPIRAL PUMPS.

Divine Providence, in giving ſo beneficent a river to Egypt, did not thereby intend that the inhabitants of it ſhould be idle,

* Diod. l. i. p. 33. † Lib. xvii. p. 817.
‡ Socrat. l. i. c. 18. Sozom. l. v. c. 3.

and

and enjoy so great a blessing, without taking any pains. One may naturally suppose, that as the Nile could not of itself cover the whole country, great labour was to be used to facilitate the overflowing of the lands, and numberless canals cut, in order to convey the waters to all parts. The villages, which stood very thick on the banks of the Nile on eminences, had each their canals, which were opened at proper times, to let the water into the country. The more distant villages had theirs also, even to the extremities of the kingdom. Thus the waters were successively conveyed to the most remote places. Persons are not permitted to cut the trenches to receive the waters, till the river is at such a height, nor to open them altogether; because otherwise some lands would be too much overflowed, and others not covered enough. They begin with opening them in Upper, and afterwards in Lower Egypt, according to the rules prescribed in a roll or book, in which all the measures are exactly set down. By this means the water is disposed with such care, that it spreads itself over all the lands. The countries overflowed by the Nile are so extensive, and lie so low, and the number of canals so great, that, of all the waters which flow into Egypt during the months of June, July, and August, it is believed that not a tenth part of them reaches the sea.

But as, notwithstanding all these canals, there are abundance of high lands which cannot receive the benefit of the Nile's overflowing; this want is supplied by spiral pumps, which are turned with oxen, in order to bring the water into pipes, which convey it to these lands. *Diodorus speaks of such an engine called Cochlea Ægyptia, invented by Archimedes in his travels into Egypt.

VII. THE FERTILITY CAUSED BY THE NILE.

There is no country in the world where the soil is more fruitful than in Egypt; which is owing entirely to the Nile†. For whereas other rivers, when they overflow lands, wash away and exhaust their vivific moisture: the Nile, on the contrary, by the excellent slime it brings along with it, fattens and enriches them in such a manner, as sufficiently compensates for what the foregoing harvest had impaired. The husbandman, in this country, never tires himself with holding the plough,

* Lib. i. p. 30. et lib. v. p. 313.

† Cum cæteri amnes abluant terras et evisceren̄t; Nilus adeo nihil exedit nec abradit, ut contra adjiciat vires.—Ita juvat agros duabus ex causis, et quod inundat, et quod oblimat. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 2.

or breaking the clods of earth. As ſoon as the Nile retires, he has nothing to do but to turn up the earth, and temper it with a little ſand, in order to leſſen its rankneſs; after which he ſows it with great eaſe, and with little or no expence. Two months after, it is covered with all ſorts of corn and pulſe. The Egyptians generally ſow in October and November, according as the waters draw off, and their harveſt is in March and April.

The ſame land bears, in one year, three or four different kinds of crops. Lettices and cucumbers are ſown firſt; then corn; and, after harveſt, ſeveral ſorts of pulſe which are peculiar to Egypt. As the ſun is extremely hot in this country, and rains fall very ſeldom in it, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that the earth would ſoon be parched, and the corn and pulſe burnt up by ſo ſcorching a heat, were it not for the canals and reſervoirs with which Egypt abounds; and which, by the drains from thence, amply ſupply wherewith to water and refreſh the fields and gardens.

The Nile contributes no leſs to the nouriſhment of cattle, which is another ſource of wealth to Egypt. The Egyptians begin to turn them out to graſs in November, and they graze till the end of March. Words could never expreſs how rich their paſtures are, and how fat the flocks and herds (which, by reaſon of the mildneſs of the air, are out night and day) grow in a very little time. During the inundation of the Nile, they are fed with hay and cut ſtraw, barley and beans, which are their common food.

A man cannot, ſays * Corneille le Bruyn, in his Travels, help obſerving the admirable providence of God to this country, who ſends at a fixed ſeaſon ſuch great quantities of rain in Ethiopia, in order to water Egypt, where a ſhower of rain ſcarce ever falls; and who, by that means, cauſes the drieſt and moſt ſandy ſoil to become the richeſt and moſt fruitful country in the univerſe.

Another thing to be obſerved here, is, that (as the inhabitants ſay) in the beginning of June and the four following months, the north-eaſt winds blow conſtantly, in order to keep back the waters, which otherwiſe would flow too faſt; and to hinder them from diſcharging themſelves into the ſea, the entrance to which theſe winds bar up, as it were, from them. The ancients have not omitted this circumſtance.

†The ſame providence, whoſe ways are wonderful and in-

* Vol. II. † Multiformis ſapientia, Eph. iii. 10.

finitely

finitely various, displayed itself after a quite different manner in Palestine, in rendering it exceeding fruitful; not by rains, which fall during the course of the year, as is usual in other places; nor by a peculiar inundation like that of the Nile in Egypt; but by sending fixed rains at two seasons, when the people were obedient to God, to make them more sensible of their continual dependence upon him. God himself commands them, by his servant Moses, to make this reflection: "* The land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the "land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sow-"edst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of "herbs; but the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of "hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven." After this, God promises to give his people, so long as they shall continue obedient to him, "the former and the latter "rain:" the first in autumn, to bring up the corn; and the second in the spring and summer, to make it grow and ripen.

VIII. TWO DIFFERENT PROSPECTS EXHIBITED BY THE NILE.

There cannot be a finer sight than Egypt at two seasons of the year†. For if a man ascends some mountain, or one of the largest pyramids of Grand Cairo, in the months of July and August, he beholds a vast sea, in which numberless towns and villages appear, with several causeys leading from place to place; the whole interspersed with groves and fruit-trees, whose tops are only visible, all which forms a delightful prospect. This view is bounded by mountains and woods, which terminate, at the utmost distance the eye can discover, the most beautiful horizon that can be imagined. On the contrary, in winter, that is to say, in the months of January and February, the whole country is like one continued scene of beautiful meadows, whose verdure, enamelled with flowers, charms the eye. The spectator beholds, on every side, flocks and herds dispersed over all the plains, with infinite numbers of husbandmen and gardeners. The air is then perfumed by the great quantity of blossoms on the orange, lemon, and other trees; and is so pure, that a wholesomer or more agreeable is not found in the world; so that nature, being then dead as it were in all other climates, seems to be alive only for so delightful an abode.

* Illa facies pulcherrima est, cum jam se in agros Nilus ingessit. Latent campi, opertæque sunt valles: oppida insularum modo extant. Nullum in Mediterraneis, nisi per navigia, commercium est: majorque est lætitia in gentibus, quo minus terrarum suarum vident. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 2.

XI. THE

IX. THE CANAL FORMED BY THE NILE, BY WHICH A COMMUNICATION IS MADE BETWEEN THE TWO SEAS.

*The canal, by which a communication was made between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, ought to have a place here, as it was not one of the leaſt advantages which the Nile procured Egypt. Seſoſtris, or, according to others, Pſammetichus, firſt projected the deſign, and began this work. Necho, ſucceſſor to the laſt prince, laid out immenſe ſums upon it, and employed a prodigious number of men. It is ſaid, that above ſix-ſcore thouſand Egyptians periſhed in the undertaking. He gave it over, terrified by an oracle, which told him that he would thereby open a door for Barbarians (for by this name they called all foreigners) to enter Egypt. The work was continued by Darius, the firſt of that name; but he alſo deſiſted from it, upon his being told, that as the Red Sea lay higher than Egypt, it would drown the whole country. But it was at laſt finiſhed under the Ptolemies, who, by the help of ſluices, opened and ſhut the canal as there was occaſion. It began not far from the Delta, near the town of Bubaſte. It was an hundred cubits, that is, 25 fathoms broad, ſo that two veſſels might paſs with eaſe; it had depth enough to carry the largeſt ſhips; and was above a thouſand ſtadia, that is, above fifty leagues, long. This canal was of great ſervice to the trade of Egypt. But it is now almoſt filled up, and there are ſcarce any remains of it to be ſeen.

CHAPTER III.

LOWER EGYPT.

I AM now to ſpeak of Lower Egypt. Its ſhape, which reſembles a triangle or Δ, gave occaſion to its bearing the name Delta, which is that of one of the Greek letters. Lower Egypt forms a kind of iſland; it begins at the place where the Nile is divided into two large canals, through which it empties itſelf into the Mediterranean. The mouth on the right-hand is called the Peluſian, and the other the Canopic, from two cities in their neighbourhood, Peluſium and Canopus, now

* Deut. xi. 10—13.

† Herod. l. i. c. 158. Strab. l. xvii. p. 804. Plin. l. xvi. c. 29. Diod. l. i. p. 29.

called

called Damietta and Roſetta. Between theſe two large branches, there are five others of leſs note. This iſland is the beſt cultivated, the moſt fruitful, and the richeſt in Egypt. Its chief cities, very antiently, were Heliopolis, Heracleopolis, Naucratis, Sais, Tanis, Canopus, Peluſium; and, in latter times, Alexandria, Nicopolis, &c. It was in the country of Tanis that the Iſraelites dwelt.

* There was at Sais, a temple dedicated to Minerva, who is ſuppoſed to be the ſame as Iſis, with the following inſcription: "I am whatever hath been, and is, and ſhall be; and no mor-"tal hath yet pierced through the veil that ſhrouds me."

† Heliopolis, that is, the city of the ſun, was ſo called from a magnificent temple there dedicated to that planet. Herodotus, and other authors after him, relate ſome particulars concerning the Phœnix and this temple, which, if true, would indeed be very wonderful. Of this kind of birds, if we may believe the ancients, there is never but one at a time in the world. He is brought forth in Arabia, lives 5 or 600 years, and is of the ſize of an eagle. His head is adorned with a ſhining and moſt beautiful creſt; the feathers of his neck are of a gold colour, and the reſt of a purple; his tail is white, intermixed with red, and his eyes ſparkling like ſtars. When he is old, and finds his end approaching, he builds a neſt with wood and aromatic ſpices, and then dies. Of his bones and marrow a worm is produced, out of which another Phœnix is formed. His firſt care is to ſolemnize his parent's obſequies, for which purpoſe he makes up a ball in the ſhape of an egg, with abundance of perfumes of myrrh, as heavy as he can carry, which he often aſſays beforehand; then he makes a hole in it, where he depoſits his parent's body, and cloſes it carefully with myrrh and other perfumes. After this he takes up the precious load on his ſhoulders, and flying to the altar of the ſun, in the city of Heliopolis, he there burns it.

Herodotus and Tacitus diſpute the truth of ſome of the circumſtances of this account, but ſeem to ſuppoſe it true in general. Pliny, on the contrary, in the very beginning of his account of it, inſinuates plainly enough, that he looks upon the whole as fabulous; and this is the opinion of all modern authors.

This ancient tradition, though grounded on an evident falſehood, hath yet introduced into almoſt all languages, the cuſtom

* Plut. in Iſid. p. 354. † Strab. l. xvii. p. 805. Herod. l. ii. c. 73. Plin. l. x. c. 2. Tacit. Ann. l. vi. c. 28.

of

of giving the name of Phœnix to whatever is ſingular and uncommon in its kind: *Rara avis in terris*, * ſays Juvenal, ſpeaking of the difficulty of finding an accompliſhed woman in all reſpects; and Seneca obſerves the ſame of a good man †.

What is reported of the ſwans, viz. that they never ſing but in their expiring moments, and that then they warble very melodiouſly, is likewiſe grounded merely on a vulgar error; and yet it is uſed, not only by the poets, but alſo by the orators, and even the philoſophers. *O mutis quoque piſcibus donatura cycni, ſi libeat ſonum*, ‡ ſays Horace to Melpomene. Cicero compares the excellent diſcourſe which Craſſus made in the ſenate, a few days before his death, to the melodious ſinging of a dying ſwan. *Illa tanquam cycnea fuit divini hominis vox et oratio.*" De Orat. l. iii. n. 6. And Socrates uſed to ſay, that good men ought to imitate ſwans, who perceiving by a ſecret inſtinct, and a divination, what advantage there is in death, die ſinging and with joy. *Providentes quid in morte boni ſit, cum cantu et voluptate moriuntur.* Tuſc. Qu. l. i. n. 73. I thought this ſhort digreſſion might be of ſervice to youth; and return now to my ſubject.

It was in § Heliopolis, that an ox, under the name of Mnevis, was worſhipped as a god. Cambyſes, king of Perſia, exerciſed his ſacrilegious rage on this city; burning the temples, demoliſhing the palaces, and deſtroying the moſt precious monuments of antiquity in it. There are ſtill to be ſeen ſome obeliſks which eſcaped his fury; and others were brought from thence to Rome, to which city they are an ornament even at this day.

Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great, from whom it had its name, vied almoſt in magnificence with the ancient cities of Egypt. It ſtands four days journey from Cairo, and was formerly the chief mart of the eaſtern trade. || The merchandiſes were unloaded at Portus Muris **, a town on the weſtern coaſt of the Red Sea; from whence they were brought upon camels to a town of Thebais, called Copht, and conveyed down the Nile to Alexandria, whither merchants reſorted from all parts.

It is well known, that the Eaſt India trade hath at all times enriched thoſe who carried it on. This was the chief foun-

* Sat. vi. † Vir bonus tam cito nec fieri poteſt, nec intelligi—— tanquam Phœnix, ſemel anno quingenteſimo naſcitur. Ep. xlii.
‡ Od. iii. l. iv. § Strab. l. xvii. p. 805. || Idem, l. xvi. p. 781.
** Or, Myos Hormos.

tain

tain of the vaſt treaſures that Solomon amaſſed, and which enabled him to build the magnificent temple of Jeruſalem. * David, by his conquering Idumæa, became maſter of Elath and Eſiongeber, two towns ſituated on the eaſtern ſhore of the Red Sea. From theſe two ports, † Solomon ſent fleets to Ophir and Tarſhiſh, which always brought back immenſe riches ‡. This traffic, after having been enjoyed ſome time by the Syrians, who regained Idumæa, ſhifted from them to the Tyrians. § Theſe got all their merchandiſe conveyed, by the way of Rhinocolura, a ſea-port town lying between the confines of Egypt and Paleſtine, to Tyre, from whence they diſtributed them all over the weſtern world. Hereby the Tyrians enriched themſelves exceedingly, under the Perſian empire, by the favour and protection of whoſe monarchs they had the full poſſeſſion of this trade. But when the Ptolemies had made themſelves maſters of Egypt, they ſoon drew all this trade into their kingdom, by building Berenice and other ports on the weſtern ſide of the Red ſea, belonging to Egypt, and fixed their chief mart at Alexandria, which thereby roſe to be the city of the greateſt trade in the world. There it continued for a great many centuries after; and all the traffic which the weſtern parts of the world from that time had with Perſia, India, Arabia, and the eaſtern coaſts of Africa, was wholly carried on through the Red Sea, and the mouth of the Nile, till a way was diſcovered, a little above 200 years ſince, of ſailing to thoſe parts, by the Cape of Good Hope. After this, the Portugueſe for ſome time managed this trade: but now it is in a manner engroſſed wholly by the Engliſh and Dutch. This ſhort account of the Eaſt India trade, from Solomon's time to the preſent age, is extracted from Dr. Prideaux ‖.

** For the conveniency of trade, there was built near Alexandria, in an iſland called Pharos, a tower which bore the ſame name. At the top of this tower was kept a fire, to light ſuch ſhips as ſailed by night near thoſe dangerous coaſts, which were full of ſands and ſhelves; from whence all towers, deſigned for the ſame uſe, have been called, as *Pharo di Meſſina*, &c. The famous architect Soſtratus built it by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who expended 800 talents upon it ††. It was reckoned one of the ſeven wonders of the world. Some have

* 2 Sam. viii. 14. † 1 Kings ix. 26.

‡ He got in one voyage 450 talents of gold, 2 Chron. viii. 18. which amounts to L.3,240,000. Prid. Connect. Vol. I. ad ann. 740, not.

§ Strab. l. xvi. p. 481. ‖ Part I. l. i. p. 9. ** Strab. l. xvii. p. 719. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12. †† 800,000 crowns, or 180,000l. Sterling.

com-

commended that prince, for permitting the architect to put his name in the inscription which was fixed on the tower instead of his own *. It was very short and plain, according to the manner of the ancients. *Sostratus Cnidius, Dexiphanis F. Diis Servatoribus, pro navigantibus*, i. e. "Sostratus the Cnidian, son of Dexiphanes, to the protecting deities, for the use of seafaring people." But certainly Ptolemy must have very much undervalued that kind of immortality which princes are generally very fond of, to suffer, that his name should not be so much as mentioned in the inscription of an edifice so capable of immortalizing him. † What we read in Lucian concerning this matter, deprives Ptolemy of a modesty, which indeed would be very ill placed here. This author informs us, that Sostratus, to engross the whole glory of that noble structure to himself, caused the inscription with his own name to be carved in the marble, which he afterwards covered with lime, and thereon put the king's name. The lime soon mouldered away: and by that means, instead of procuring the architect the honour with which he had flattered himself, served only to discover to future ages his mean fraud, and ridiculous vanity.

Riches failed not to bring into this city, as they usually do in all places, luxury and licentiousness; so that the Alexandrian voluptuousness became a proverb ‡. In this city arts and sciences were also industriously cultivated, witness that stately edifice called the Museum, where the literati used to meet, and were maintained at the public expence; and the famous library, which was augmented considerably by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and which, by the munificence of the kings his successors, at last contained 700,000 volumes. § In Cæsar's wars with the Alexandrians, part of this library, situated in the ‖ Bruchion, which consisted of 4000 volumes, was unhappily consumed by fire.

PART SECOND.

Of the Manners and Customs of the Egyptians.

EGYPT was ever considered by all the ancients, as the most renowned school for wisdom and politics, and the source from whence most arts and sciences were derived. This

* Magno animo Ptolemæi regis, quod in ea permiserit Sostrati Cnidii architecti structuræ nomen inscribi. Plin.

† De Scribend. Hist. p. 706.

‡ Ne Alexandrinis quidem permittenda deliciis. Quintil.

§ Plut. in Cæs. p. 731. Seneca de tranquill. anim. c. 9.

‖ A quarter or division of the city of Alexandria.

kingdom

kingdom beſtowed its nobleſt labours and fineſt arts on the improving mankind; and Greece was ſo ſenſible of this, that its moſt illuſtrious men, as Homer, Pythagoras, Plato; even its great legiſlators, Lycurgus and Solon, with many more whom it is needleſs to mention, travelled into Egypt, to complete their ſtudies, and draw from that fountain whatever was moſt rare and valuable in every kind of learning. God himſelf has given this kingdom a glorious teſtimony, when, praiſing Moſes, he ſays of him, that "* he was learned in all the wiſdom of "the Egyptians."

To give ſome idea of the manners and cuſtoms of Egypt, I ſhall confine myſelf principally to theſe particulars: its kings and government; prieſts and religion; ſoldiers and war; ſciences, arts, and trades.

The reader muſt not be ſurpriſed, if he ſometimes finds, in the cuſtoms I take notice of, a kind of contradiction. This circumſtance is owing, either to the difference of countries and nations which did not always follow the ſame uſages; or to the different way of thinking of the hiſtorians whom I copy.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the Kings and Government.

THE Egyptians were the firſt people who rightly underſtood the rules of government. A nation ſo grave and ſerious immediately perceived, that the true end of politics is, to make life eaſy and a people happy.

The kingdom was hereditary; but, according to † Diodorus, the Egyptian princes conducted themſelves in a different manner from what is uſually ſeen in other monarchies, where the prince acknowledges no other rule of his actions, but his arbitrary will and pleaſure. But here, kings were under greater reſtraint from the laws than their ſubjects. They had ſome particular ones, digeſted by a former monarch, that compoſed part of thoſe books which the Egyptians called ſacred. Thus every thing being ſettled by ancient cuſtom, they never ſought to live in a different way from their anceſtors.

No ſlave or foreigner was admitted into the immediate ſervice of the prince; ſuch a poſt was too important to be intruſted to any perſons, except thoſe who were the moſt diſtinguiſhed by their birth, and had received the moſt excellent edu-

* Acts vii. 22. † Diod l. i. p. 63, &c.

cation; to the end that, as they had the liberty of approaching the king's perſon, day and night, he might, from men ſo qualified, hear nothing which was unbecoming the royal majeſty; or have any ſentiments inſtilled into him, but ſuch as were of a noble and generous kind. For, adds Diodorus, it is very rarely ſeen, that kings fly out into any vicious exceſs, unleſs thoſe who approach them approve their irregularities, or ſerve as inſtruments to their paſſions.

The kings of Egypt freely permitted not only the quality and proportion of their eatables and liquids to be preſcribed them (a thing cuſtomary in Egypt, the inhabitants of which were all ſober, and whoſe air inſpired frugality), but even that all their hours, and almoſt every action, ſhould be under the regulation of the laws.

In the morning at day-break, when the head is cleareſt, and the thoughts moſt unperplexed, they read the ſeveral letters they received; to form a more juſt and diſtinct idea of the affairs which were to come under their conſideration that day.

As ſoon as they were dreſſed, they went to the daily ſacrifice performed in the temple; where, ſurrounded with their whole court, and the victims placed before the altar, they aſſiſted at the prayer pronounced aloud by the high-prieſt, in which he aſked of the gods, health and all other bleſſings for the king, becauſe he governed his people with clemency and juſtice, and made the laws of his kingdom the rule and ſtandard of his actions. The high-prieſt entered into a long detail of his virtues; obſerving that he was religious to the gods, affable to men, moderate, juſt, magnanimous, ſincere; an enemy to falſehood; liberal; maſter of his paſſions; puniſhing crimes with the utmoſt lenity, but boundleſs in rewarding merit. He next ſpoke of the faults which kings might be guilty of; but ſuppoſed at the ſame time, that they never committed any, except by ſurpriſe or ignorance; and loaded with imprecations ſuch of their miniſters as gave them ill counſel, and ſuppreſſed or diſguiſed the truth. Such were the methods of conveying inſtruction to their kings. It was thought that reproaches would only ſour their tempers; and that the moſt effectual method to inſpire them with virtue, would be to point out to them their duty, in praiſes conformable to the ſenſe of the laws, and pronounced in a ſolemn manner before the gods. After the prayers and ſacrifice were ended, the counſels and actions of great men were read to the king out of the ſacred books, in order that he might govern his dominions according to their maxims, and maintain the laws which had made his predeceſſors and their ſubjects ſo happy.

I have

I have already obſerved, that the quantity as well as quality of both eatables and liquids were preſcribed, by the laws, to the king: his table was covered with nothing but the moſt common meats; becauſe eating in Egypt was deſigned, not to tickle the palate, but to ſatisfy the cravings of nature. One would have concluded, obſerves the hiſtorian, that theſe rules had been laid down by ſome able phyſician, who was attentive only to the health of the prince, rather than by a legiſlator. The ſame ſimplicity was ſeen in all other things; and we read in * Plutarch, of a temple in Thebes, which had one of its pillars inſcribed with imprecations againſt that king who firſt introduced profuſion and luxury into Egypt.

The principal duty of kings, and their moſt eſſential functions, is the adminiſtering juſtice to their ſubjects. Accordingly, the kings of Egypt cultivated more immediately this duty; convinced that on this depended not only the eaſe and comfort of the ſeveral individuals, but the happineſs of the ſtate; which would be an herd of robbers, rather than a kingdom, ſhould the weak be unprotected, and the powerful enabled by their riches and credit to commit crimes with impunity.

Thirty judges were ſelected out of the principal cities, to form a body or aſſembly for judging the whole kingdom. The prince, in filling theſe vacancies, choſe ſuch as were moſt renowned for their honeſty; and put at their head, him who was moſt diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge and love of the laws, and was had in the moſt univerſal eſteem. By his bounty, they had revenues aſſigned them, to the end that, being freed from domeſtic cares, they might devote their whole time to the execution of the laws. Thus, honourably ſubſiſted by the generoſity of the prince, they adminiſtered juſtice gratuitouſly to the people, who have a natural right to it; among whom it ought to have a free circulation, and, in ſome ſenſe, among the poor more than the rich, becauſe the latter find a ſupport within themſelves; whereas the very condition of the former expoſes them more to injuries, and therefore calls louder for the protection of the laws. To guard againſt ſurpriſe, affairs were tranſacted by writing in the aſſemblies of theſe judges. That ſpecies of eloquence, a falſe kind, was dreaded, which dazzles the mind, and moves the paſſions. Truth could not be expreſſed with too much plainneſs, as it was to have the only ſway in judgments; becauſe in that alone the rich and poor, the powerful and the weak, the learned and the ignorant, were to find relief and ſecurity. The preſident of this ſenate wore a

* De Iſid. & Oſir. p. 354.

collar of gold ſet with precious ſtones, at which hung a figure repreſented blind, this being called the emblem of truth. When the preſident put this collar on, it was underſtood as a ſignal to enter upon buſineſs. He touched the party with it who was to gain his cauſe, and this was the form of paſſing ſentence.

The moſt excellent circumſtance in the laws of the Egyptians, was, that every individual from his infancy was nurtured in the ſtricteſt obſervance of them. A new cuſtom in * Egypt was a kind of miracle. All things there ran in the old channel; and the exactneſs with which little matters were adhered to, preſerved thoſe of more importance; and indeed no nation ever preſerved their laws and cuſtoms longer than the Egyptians.

Wilful murder was puniſhed with † death, whatever might be the condition of the murdered perſon, whether he was free-born or otherwiſe. In this the humanity and equity of the Egyptians was ſuperior to that of the Romans, who gave the maſter an abſolute power as to life and death over his ſlave. The emperor Adrian indeed aboliſhed this law; from an opinion, that an abuſe of this nature ought to be reformed, let its antiquity or authority be ever ſo great.

‡ Perjury was alſo puniſhed with death, becauſe that crime attacks both the gods, whoſe majeſty is trampled upon by invoking their name to a falſe oath; and men, in breaking the ſtrongeſt tie of human ſociety, *viz.* ſincerity and honeſty.

§ The falſe accuſer was condemned to undergo the puniſhment, which the perſon accuſed was to have ſuffered, had the accuſation been proved.

‖ He who had neglected or refuſed to ſave a man's life when attacked, if it was in his power to aſſiſt him, was puniſhed as rigorouſly as the aſſaſſin: But if the unfortunate perſon could not be ſuccoured, the offender was at leaſt to be impeached, and penalties were decreed for any neglect of this kind. Thus the ſubjects were a guard and protection to one another; and the whole body of the community united againſt the deſigns of the bad.

** No man was allowed to be uſeleſs to the ſtate; but every man was obliged to enter his name and place of abode in a public regiſter, that remained in the hands of the magiſtrate, and to annex his profeſſion, and in what manner he lived. If

* Plut. in Tim. p. 656. † Diod. l. i. p. 70. ‡ Pag. 69.
§ Idem. ‖ Idem. ** Diod. l. i. p. 69.

ſuch

such a one gave a false account of himself, he was immediately put to death.

* To prevent borrowing of money, the parent of sloth, frauds, and chicane, king Asychis made a very judicious law. The wisest and best-regulated states, as Athens and Rome, ever found insuperable difficulties in contriving a just medium, to restrain, on one hand, the cruelty of the creditor in the exaction of his loan; and on the other, the knavery of the debtor, who refused or neglected to pay his debts. Now Egypt took a wise course on this occasion; and without doing any injury to the personal liberty of its inhabitants, or ruining their families, pursued the debtor with incessant fears of infamy from his dishonesty. No man was permitted to borrow money without pawning to the creditor the body of his father, which every Egyptian embalmed with great care, and kept reverentially in his house, as will be observed in the sequel, and therefore might be easily moved from one place to another. But it was equally impious and infamous not to redeem soon so precious a pledge; and he who died without having discharged this duty, was deprived of the customary honours paid to the dead †.

‡ Diodorus remarks an error committed by some of the Grecian legislators. They forbid, for instance, the taking away, to satisfy debts, the horses, ploughs, and other implements of husbandry employed by peasants; judging it inhuman to reduce, by this security, these poor men to an impossibility of discharging their debts, and getting their bread: but at the same time they permitted the creditor to imprison the peasants themselves, who only were capable of using these implements; which exposed them to the same inconveniencies, and at the same time deprived the government of persons who belonged, and are necessary to it; who labour for the public emolument, and over whose person no private man has any right.

§ Polygamy was allowed in Egypt, except to priests, who could marry but one woman. Whatever was the condition of the woman, whether she was free or a slave, her children were deemed free and legitimate.

* Herod. l. ii. c. 136.

† This law put the whole sepulchre of the debtor into the power of the creditor, who removed to his own house the body of the father: The debtor refusing to discharge his obligation, was to be deprived of burial, either in his father's sepulchre or any other; and whilst he lived, he was not permitted to bury any person decended from him. Μηδὲ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ τελευτήσαντι εἶναι ταφῆς κυρῆσαι——μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τὸν ἑαυτῷ ἀπογενόμενον θάψαι. Herod.

‡ Diod. l. i. p. 71. § Id. p. 72.

* One cuſtom that was practiſed in Egypt, ſhewed the profound darkneſs into which ſuch nations as were moſt celebrated for their wiſdom have been plunged; and this was the marriage of brothers with their ſiſters, which was not only authorized by the laws, but even in ſome meaſure was a part of their religion, from the example and practice of ſuch of their gods, as had been the moſt anciently and univerſally adored in Egypt, that is, Oſiris and Iſis.

† A very great reſpect was there paid to old age. The young were obliged to riſe up for the old, and on every occaſion to reſign to them the moſt honourable ſeat. The Spartans borrowed this law from the Egyptians.

The virtue in the greateſt eſteem amongſt the Egyptians, was gratitude. The glory which has been given them of being the moſt grateful of all men, ſhews that they were the beſt formed of any nation for ſocial life. Benefits are the band of concord both public and private. He who acknowledges favours, loves to do good to others; and in baniſhing ingratitude, the pleaſure of doing good remains ſo pure and engaging, that it is impoſſible for a man to be inſenſible of it. But no kind of gratitude gave the Egyptians a more pleaſing ſatisfaction, than that which was paid to their kings. Princes, whilſt living, were by them honoured as ſo many viſible repreſentations of the deity; and after their death were mourned as the fathers of their country. Theſe ſentiments of reſpect and tenderneſs proceeded from a ſtrong perſuaſion, that the divinity himſelf had placed them upon the throne, as he diſtinguiſhed them ſo greatly from all other mortals; and that kings bore the moſt noble characteriſtics of the Supreme Being, as the power and will of doing good to others were united in their perſons.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the PRIESTS *and* RELIGION *of the* EGYPTIANS.

PRIESTS, in Egypt, held the ſecond rank to kings. They had great privileges and revenues; their lands were exempted from all impoſts; of which ſome traces are ſeen in Geneſis, where it is ſaid, "‡ Joſeph made it a law over the land "of Egypt, that Pharaoh ſhould have the fifth part, except "the land of the prieſts only, which became not Pharoah's."

* Diod. l. i. p. 22. † Herod. l. ii. c. 20. ‡ Gen. xlvii. 26.

The

The prince uſually honoured them with a large ſhare in his confidence and government, becauſe they, of all his ſubjects, had received the beſt education, had acquired the greateſt knowledge, and were moſt ſtrongly attached to the king's perſon and the good of the public. They were at one and the ſame time the depoſitaries of religion and of the ſciences; and to this circumſtance was owing the great reſpect which was paid them by the natives as well as foreigners, by whom they were alike conſulted upon the moſt ſacred things relating to the myſteries of religion, and the moſt profound ſubjects in the ſeveral ſciences.

*The Egyptians pretend to be the firſt inſtitutors of feſtivals and proceſſions in honour of the gods. One feſtival was celebrated in the city of Bubaſte, whither perſons reſorted from all parts of Egypt and upwards of ſeventy thouſand, beſides children, were ſeen at it. Another ſurnamed the Feaſt of the Lights, was ſolemnized at Sais. All perſons, throughout Egypt, who did not go to Sais, were obliged to illuminate their windows.

†Different animals were ſacrificed in different countries; but one common and general ceremony was obſerved in all ſacrifices, *viz.* the laying the hands upon the head of the victim, loading it at the ſame time with imprecations, and praying the gods to divert upon that victim, all the calamities which might threaten Egypt.

‡It is to Egypt, that Pythagoras owed his favourite doctrine of the Metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls. The Egyptians believed, that at the death of men, their ſouls tranſgrated into other human bodies; and that, if they had been vicious, they were impriſoned in the bodies of unclean or unhappy beaſts, to expiate in them their paſt tranſgreſſions; and that after a revolution of ſome centuries, they again animated other human bodies.

The prieſts had the poſſeſſion of the ſacred books, which contained, at large, the principles of government, as well as the myſteries of divine worſhip. Both § were commonly involved in ſymbols and enigmas, which, under theſe veils made truth more venerable and excited more ſtrongly the curioſity of men. The figure of Harpocrates, in the Egpytian ſanctuaries, with his finger upon his mouth, ſeemed to intimate, that myſteries were there incloſed, the knowledge of which was

* Herod. l. ii. c. 60. † Herop. l. ii. c. 39. ‡ Diod. l. i. p. 88.
§ Plut. de Iſid. et Oſir. p. 354.

revealed

revealed to very few. The ſphinxes, placed at the entrance of all temples, implied the ſame. It is very well known, that pyramids, obeliſks, pillars, ſtatues, in a word, all public monuments, were uſually adorned with hieroglyphics, that is, with ſymbolical writings; whether theſe were characters unknown to the vulgar, or figures of animals, which couched a hidden and parabolical meaning. *Thus, by a hare, was ſignified a lively and piercing attention, becauſe this creature has a very delicate hearing. †The ſtatue of a judge without hands, and with eyes fixed upon the ground, ſymbolized the duties of thoſe who were to exerciſe the judiciary functions.

It would require a volume to treat fully of the religion of the Egyptians. But I ſhall confine myſelf to two articles, which form the principal part of the Egyptian religion; and theſe are the worſhip of the different deities, and the ceremonies relating to funerals.

SECTION I.

OF THE WORSHIP OF THE VARIOUS DEITIES.

NEVER were any people more ſuperſtitious than the Egyptians; they had a great number of gods, of different orders and degrees, which I ſhall omit, becauſe they belong more to fable than to hiſtory. Among the reſt, two were univerſally adored in that country, and theſe were Oſiris and Iſis, which are thought to be the ſun and moon; and indeed the worſhip of thoſe planets gave riſe to idolatry.

Beſides theſe gods, the Egyptians worſhipped a great number of beaſts; as the ox, the dog, the wolf, the hawk, the crocodile, the ibis‡, the cat, &c. Many of theſe beaſts were the objects only of the ſuperſtition of ſome particular cities; and whilſt a people worſhipped one ſpecies of animals as gods, their neighbours had the ſame animal-gods in abomination. This was the ſource of the continual wars which were carried on between one city and another; and this was owing to the falſe policy of one of their kings, who, to deprive them of the opportunity and means of conſpiring againſt the ſtate, endeavoured to amuſe them, by engaging them in religious conteſts. I call this a falſe and miſtaken policy, becauſe it directly thwarts the true ſpirit of government, the aim of which is, to unite all its members in the ſtricteſt ties, and to make all its ſtrength conſiſt, in the perfect harmony of its ſeveral parts.

* Plut. Sympoſ. l. iv. p. 670. † Id. de Iſid. p. 355.
‡ Or, Egyptian ſtork.

Every

Every nation had a great zeal for their gods. "Among "us," says Cicero*, "it is very common to see temples robbed, "and statues carried off; but it was never known, that any "person in Egypt ever abused a crocodile, an ibis, a cat; for "its inhabitants would have suffered the most extreme tor- "ments, rather than be guilty of such sacrilege." † It was death for any person to kill one of these animals voluntarily; and even a punishment was decreed against him, who should have killed an ibis, or a cat, without design. ‡ Diodorus relates an incident, to which he himself was an eye-witness, during his stay in Egypt. A Roman having inadvertently, and without design, killed a cat, the exasperated populace ran to his house; and neither the authority of the king, who immediately detached a body of his guards, nor the terror of the Roman name, could rescue the unfortunate criminal. And such was the reverence which the Egyptians had for these animals, that in an extreme famine they chose to eat one another, rather than feed upon their imagined deities.

§ Of all these animals, the bull Apis, called Epaphus by the Greeks, was the most famous. Magnificent temples were erected to him; extraordinary honours were paid him while he lived, and still greater after his death. Egypt went then into a general mourning. His obsequies were solemnized with such a pomp as is hardly credible. In the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, the bull Apis dying of old age‖, the funeral pomp, besides the ordinary expences, amounted to upwards of 50,000 French crowns**. After the last honours had been paid to the deceased god, the next care was to provide him a successor, and all Egypt was sought through for that purpose. He was known by certain signs, which distinguished him from all other animals of that species; upon his forehead, was to be a white spot, in form of a crescent; on his back, the figure of an eagle; upon his tongue, that of a beetle. As soon as he was found, mourning gave place to joy; and nothing was head, in all parts of Egypt, but festivals and rejoicings. The new god was brought to Memphis, to take possession of his dignity, and there installed with a great number of

* De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 82. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 78.
† Herod. l. ii. c. 65. ‡ Diod. l. i. p. 74, 75
§ Herod. l. iii. c. 27, &c. p. 76. Diod. l. i. Plin l. viii. c. 46.
‖ Pliny affirms, that he was not allowed to exceed a certain term of years, and was drowned in the priests' well. *Non est fas eum certos vitæ excedere annos, mersumque in sacerdotum fonte enecant.* Non. Hist. l. viii. c. 46.
** Above L.11,251 sterling.

ceremonies.

ceremonies. The reader will find hereafter, that Cambyſes, at his return from his unfortunate expedition againſt Ethiopia, finding all the Egyptians in tranſports of joy for their new god Apis, and imagining that this was intended as an inſult upon his misfortunes, killed, in the firſt ſtarts of his fury, the young bull, who by that means had but a ſhort enjoyment of his divinity.

It is plain, that the golden calf ſet up near mount Sinai by the Iſraelites, was owing to their abode in Egypt, and an imitation of the god Apis; as well as thoſe which were afterwards ſet up by Jeroboam, who had reſided a conſiderable time in Egypt, in the two extremities of the kingdom of Iſrael.

The Egyptians, not contented with offering incenſe to animals, carried their folly to ſuch an exceſs, as to aſcribe a divinity to the pulſe and roots of their gardens. For this they are ingeniouſly reproached by the ſatyriſt.

> Who * has not heard where Egypt's realms are nam'd,
> What monſter gods her frantic ſons have fram'd?
> Here Ibis gorg'd with well grown ſerpents, there
> The Crocodile commands religious fear:
> Where Memnon's ſtatue magic ſtrings inſpire
> With vocal ſounds that emulate the lyre;
> And Thebes, ſuch, Fate, are thy diſaſtrous turns!
> Now proſtrate o'er her pompous ruins mourns;
> A monkey-god, prodigious to be told!
> Strikes the beholder's eye with burniſh'd gold:
> To godſhip here blue Triton's ſcaly herd,
> The river progeny is there preferr'd:
> Through towns Diana's power neglected lies,
> Where to her dogs aſpiring temples riſe:
> And ſhould you leeks or onions eat, no time
> Would expiate the ſacrilegious crime.
> Religious nations ſure, and bleſt abodes,
> Where ev'ry orchard is o'er-run with gods.

It is aſtoniſhing to ſee a nation, which boaſted its ſuperiority above all others with regard to wiſdom and learning, thus blindly abandon itſelf to the moſt groſs and ridiculous ſuperſtitions. Indeed, to read of animals and vile inſects, honoured with religious worſhip, placed in temples, and maintained with great care and at an extravagant expence†; to read, that thoſe who murdered them were puniſhed with death; and that theſe ani-

* Juven. Satyr. xv.

† Diodorus affirms, that in his time, the expence amounted to no leſs than one hundred thouſand crowns, or L.22,500 Sterling. Lib. i. p. 76.

mals

mals were embalmed, and solemnly deposited in tombs, assigned them by the public; to hear, that this extravagance was carried to such lengths, as that leeks and onions were acknowledged as deities, were invoked in necessity, and depended upon for succour and protection; are excesses, which we, at this distance of time, can scarce believe; and yet they have the evidence of all antiquity. You enter, says Lucian*, into a magnificent temple, every part of which glitters with gold and silver. You there look attentively for a god, and are cheated with a stork, an ape, or a cat; a just emblem, adds that author, of too many places, the masters of which are far from being the brightest ornaments of them.

† Several reasons are given of the worship paid to animals by the Egyptians.

The first is drawn from the fabulous history. It is pretended that the gods, in a rebellion made against them by men, fled into Egypt, and there concealed themselves under the form of different animals; and that this gave birth to the worship which was afterwards paid to those animals.

The second is taken from the benefit ‡ which these several animals procure to mankind: oxen by their labour; sheep by their wool and milk; dogs by their service in hunting and guarding houses, whence the god Anubis was represented with a dog's head. The ibis, a bird very much resembling a stork, was worshipped, because he put to flight the winged serpents, with which Egypt would otherwise have been grievously infested; the crocodile, an amphibious creature, that is, living alike upon land and water, of a surprising strength and size§, was worshipped, because he defended Egypt from the incursions of the wild Arabs; the ichneumon was adored, because he prevented the too great increase of crocodiles, which might have proved destructive to Egypt. Now the little animal in question does this service to the country two ways. First, it watches the time when the crocodile is absent, and breaks his eggs, but does not eat them. Secondly, when he sleeps upon the banks of the Nile, which he always does with his mouth open, this small animal, which lies concealed in the mud, leaps at once into his mouth; gets down to his entrails, which he gnaws;

* Imag. † Diod. l. i. p. 77, &c.

‡ Ipsi, qui irridentur Ægyptii, nullam belluam nisi ob aliquam utilitatem, quam ex ea caperent, consecraverunt. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. i. n. 101.

§ Which, according to Herodotus, is no more than 17 cubits in length. L. ii. c. 68.

then

then peircing his belly, the ſkin of which is very tender, he eſcapes with ſafety; and thus, by his addreſs and ſubtilty, returns victorious over ſo terrible an animal.

Philoſophers, not ſatisfied with reaſons, which were too trifling to account for ſuch ſtrange abſurdities as diſhonoured the heathen ſyſtem, and at which themſelves ſecretly bluſhed, have, ſince the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, ſuppoſed a third reaſon for the worſhip which the Egyptians paid to animals; and declared, that it was not offered to the animals themſelves, but to the gods of whom they are ſymbols. * Plutarch, in his treatiſe, where he examines profeſſedly the pretenſions of Iſis and Oſiris, the two moſt famous deities of the Egyptians, ſays as follows: "Philoſophers honour the image of God "wherever they find it, even in inanimate beings, and conſe- "quently more in thoſe which have life. We are therefore to "approve, not the worſhippers of theſe animals, but thoſe who, "by their means, aſcend to the deity; they are to be conſider- "ed as ſo many mirrors, which nature holds forth, and in "which the Supreme Being diſplays himſelf in a wonderful "manner; or, as ſo many inſtruments, which he makes uſe "of to manifeſt outwardly his incomprehenſible wiſdom. "Should men therefore, for the embelliſhing of ſtatues, amaſs "together all the gold and precious ſtones in the world, the "worſhip muſt not be referred to the ſtatues, for the deity does "not exiſt in colours artfully diſpoſed, nor in frail matter deſti- "tute of ſenſe and motion." † Plutarch ſays in the ſame treatiſe, "that as the ſun and moon, heaven, earth, and the ſea, are "common to all men, but have different names according to "the difference of nations and languages; in like manner, "though there is but one deity, and one providence which "governs the univerſe, and which has ſeveral ſubaltern miniſ- "ters under it; men give to this deity, which is the ſame, dif- "ferent names; and pay it different honours, according to the "laws and cuſtoms of every country."

But were theſe reflections, which offer the moſt rational vindication poſſible of idolatrous worſhip, ſufficient to cover the ridicule of it? Could it be called a raiſing of the divine attributes in a ſuitable manner, to direct the worſhipper to admire and ſeek for the image of them in beaſts of the moſt vile and contemptible kinds, as crocodiles, ſerpents, and cats? Was not this rather degrading and debaſing the deity, of whom even the moſt ſtupid uſually entertain a much greater and more auguſt idea?

* P. 382. † P. 377 & 378.

However,

However, these philosophers were not always so just, as to ascend from sensible beings to their invisible author. The scripture tells us, that these pretended sages deserved, on account of their pride and ingratitude, to be "given over to a "reprobate mind; and whilst they professed themselves wise, "to become fools, for having changed the glory of the incor- "ruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, "and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things *." To shew what man is when left to himself, God permitted that very nation which had carried human wisdom to its greatest height, to be the theatre in which the most ridiculous and absurd idolatry was acted; and, on the other side, to display the almighty power of his grace, he converted the frightful deserts of Egypt into a terrestrial paradise; by peopling them, in the time appointed by his providence, with numberless multitudes of illustrious hermits, whose fervent piety, and rigorous penance, have done so much honour to the Christian religion. I cannot forbear giving here a famous instance of it; and I hope the reader will excuse this kind of digression.

† The great wonder of Lower Egypt, says Abbé Fleury in his Ecclesiastical History, was the city of Oxyrinchus, peopled with monks, both within and without, so that they were more numerous than its other inhabitants. The public edifices, and idol temples, had been converted into monasteries, and these likewise were more in number than the private houses. The monks lodged even over the gates, and in the towers. The people had twelve churches to assemble in, exclusive of the oratories belonging to the monasteries. There were twenty thousand virgins and ten thousand monks in this city, every part of which echoed night and day with the praises of God. By order of the magistrates, centinels were posted at the gates, to take notice of all strangers and poor who came into the city; and those who first received them, were obliged to provide them with all hospitable accommodations.

SECTION II.

THE CEREMONIES OF THE EGYPTIAN FUNERALS.

I shall now give a concise account of the funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians.

The honours which have been paid in all ages and nations to the bodies of the dead, and the religious care taken to pro-

* Rom. i. ver. 22, 25. † Tom. V. p. 25, 26.

vide ſepulchres for them, ſeem to inſinuate an univerſal perſuaſion, that bodies were lodged in ſepulchres merely as a depoſit or truſt.

We have already obſerved, in our mention of the pyramids, with what magnificence ſepulchres were built in Egypt; for beſides, that they were erected as ſo many ſacred monuments, deſtined to tranſmit to future times the memory of great princes, they were likewiſe conſidered as the manſions where the body was to remain during a long ſucceſſion of ages: * whereas common houſes were called inns, in which men were to abide only as travellers, and that during the courſe of a life which was too ſhort to engage their affections.

When any perſon in a family died, all the kindred and friends quitted their uſual habits, and put on mourning, and abſtained from baths, wine, and dainties of every kind. This mourning held forty or ſeventy days; probably according to the quality of the perſon.

† Bodies were embalmed three different ways. The moſt magnificent was beſtowed on perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank, and the expence amounted to a talent of ſilver, or 3000 French livres ‡.

§ Many hands were employed in this ceremony. Some drew the brain through the noſtrils, by an inſtrument made for that purpoſe. Others emptied the bowels and inteſtines, by cutting a hole in the ſide, with an Ethiopian ſtone that was as ſharp as a razor; after which the cavities were filled with perfumes and various odoriferous drugs. As this evacuation, which was neceſſarily attended with ſome diſſections, ſeemed in ſome meaſure cruel and inhuman, the perſons employed fled as ſoon as the operation was over, and were purſued with ſtones by the ſtanders-by. But thoſe who embalmed the body were honourably treated. They filled it with myrrh, cinnamon, and all ſorts of ſpices. After a certain time, the body was ſwathed in lawn fillets, which were glued together with a kind of very thin gum, and then cruſted over with the moſt exquiſite perfumes. By this means, it is ſaid, that the entire figure of the body, the very lineaments of the face, and the hairs on the lids and eyebrows, were preſerved in their natural perfection. The body, thus embalmed, was delivered to the relations, who ſhut it up in a kind of open cheſt, fitted exactly to the ſize of the corpſe; then they placed it upright againſt the wall, either in ſepulchres, if they had any, or in their houſes. Theſe embalmed

* Diod. l. i. p. 47.
† Herod. l. ii. c. 85, &c.
‡ About 137l. 10s. Sterling.
§ Diod. l. i. p. 81.

bodies

bodies are now what we call Mummies, which are ſtill brought from Egypt, and are found in the cabinets of the curious. This ſhews the care which the Egyptians took of their dead. Their gratitude to their deceaſed relations was immortal. Children, by ſeeing the bodies of their anceſtors thus preſerved, recalled to mind thoſe virtues for which the people had honoured them; and were excited to a love of thoſe laws which ſuch excellent perſons had left for their ſecurity. We find that part of theſe ceremonies were performed in the funeral honours done to Joſeph in Egypt.

I have ſaid that the public recogniſed the virtues of deceaſed perſons, becauſe that, before they could be admitted into the ſacred aſylum of the tomb, they underwent a ſolemn trial. And this circumſtance in the Egyptian funerals is one of the moſt remarkable to be found in ancient hiſtory.

It was a conſolation, among the heathens, to a dying man, to leave a good name behind him; and they imagined that this is the only human bleſſing of which death cannot deprive us. But the Egyptians would not ſuffer praiſes to be beſtowed indiſcriminately on all deceaſed perſons. This honour was to be obtained only from the public voice. The aſſembly of the judges met on the other ſide of a lake which they croſſed in a boat. He who ſat at the helm was called Charon, in the Egyptian language; and this firſt gave the hint to Orpheus, who had been in Egypt, and after him, to the other Greeks, to invent the fiction of Charon's boat. As ſoon as a man was dead, he was brought to his trial. The public accuſer was heard. If he proved that the deceaſed had led a bad life, his memory was condemned, and he was deprived of burial. The people were affected with laws, which extended even beyond the grave; and every one, ſtruck with the diſgrace inflicted on the dead perſon, was afraid to reflect diſhonour on his own memory, and that of his family. But if the deceaſed perſon was not convicted of any crime, he was interred in an honourable manner.

A ſtill more aſtoniſhing circumſtance, in this public inqueſt upon the dead, was, that the throne itſelf was no protection from it. Kings were ſpared during their lives, becauſe the public peace was concerned in their forbearance; but their quality did not exempt them from the judgment paſſed upon the dead, and even ſome of them were deprived of ſepulture. This cuſtom was imitated by the Iſraelites. We ſee, in ſcripture, that bad kings were not interred in the monuments of their anceſtors. This practice ſuggeſted to princes, that if

their majesty placed them out of the reach of men's judgment while they were alive, they would at last be liable to it, when death should reduce them to a level with their subjects.

When, therefore, a favourable judgment was pronounced on a deceased person, the next thing was to proceed to the ceremonies of interment. In his panegyric, no mention was made of his birth, because every Egyptian was deemed noble. No praises were considered as just or true, but such as related to the personal merit of the deceased. He was applauded for having received an excellent education in his younger years; and in his more advanced age, for having cultivated piety towards the gods, justice towards men, gentleness, modesty, moderation, and all other virtues which constitute the good man. Then all the people shouted, and bestowed the highest elogiums on the deceased, as one who would be received, for ever, into the society of the virtuous in Pluto's kingdom.

To conclude this article of the ceremonies of funerals, it may not be amiss to observe to young pupils, the different manners with which the bodies of the dead were treated by the ancients. Some, as we observed of the Egyptians, exposed them to view after they had been embalmed, and thus preserved them to after-ages. Others, as particularly the Romans, burnt them on a funeral-pile; and others again, laid them in the earth.

The care to preserve bodies without lodging them in tombs, appears injurious to human nature in general, and to those persons in particular for whom this respect is designed; because it exposes too visibly their wretched state and deformity; since, whatever care may be taken, spectators see nothing but the melancholy and frightful remains of what they were once. The custom of burning dead bodies has something in it cruel and barbarous, in destroying so hastily the remains of persons once dear to us. That of interment is certainly the most ancient and religious. It restores to the earth what had been taken from it; and prepares our belief of a second restitution of our bodies, from that dust of which they were at first formed.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Egyptian Soldiers and War.

THE profession of arms was in great repute among the Egyptians. After the sacerdotal families, the most illustrious,

trious, as with us, were those devoted to a military life. They were not only distinguished by honours, but by ample liberalities. Every soldier was allowed an aroura, that is, a piece of arable land very near answering to half a French acre*, exempted from all tax or tribute. Besides this privilege, each soldier received a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two of flesh, and a pint of wine†. This allowance was sufficient to support part of their family. Such an indulgence made them more affectionate to the person of their prince, and the interests of their country, and more resolute in the defence of both; and, as ‡ Diodorus observes, it was thought inconsistent with good policy, and even common sense, to commit the defence of a country to men who had no interest in its preservation.

§ Four hundred thousand soldiers were kept in continual pay; all natives of Egypt, and trained up in the exactest discipline. They were inured to the fatigues of war, by a severe and rigorous education. There is an art of forming the body as well as the mind. This art, lost by our sloth, was well known to the ancients, and especially to the Egyptians. Foot, horse, and chariot races, were performed in Egypt with wonderful agility, and the world could not show better horsemen than the Egyptians. ‖ The scripture in several places speaks advantageously of their cavalry.

Military laws were easily preserved in Egypt, because sons received them from their fathers; the profession of war, as of all others, being transmitted from father to son. ** Those who fled in battle, or discovered any signs of cowardice, were only distinguished by some particular mark of ignominy; it being thought more advisable to restrain them by motives of honour, than by the terrors of punishment.

But notwithstanding this, I will not pretend to say, that the Egyptians were a warlike people. It is of little advantage to have regular and well-paid troops; to have armies exercised in

* Twelve Arouras. An Egyptian Aroura was 10,000 square cubits, equal to 3 roods, 2 perches, $55\frac{1}{4}$ square feet of our measure.

† The Greek is, *οἶνου τέσσαρες ἀρυστῆρες*, which some have made to signify a determinate quantity of wine, or any other liquid: others, regarding the etymology of the word *ἀρυστὴς*, have translated it by *hauſtrum*, a bucket, as Lucretius, lib. v. 51, others by *hauſtus*, a draught or sup. Herodotus says, this allowance was given only to the two thousand guards, who attended annually on the Kings. Lib. ii. c. 168.

‡ Lib. i. p. 67.

§ Herod. l. ii. c. 164. 168. ‖ Cant. i. 8. Isa. xxxvi. 9.

** Diod. p. 70.

peace, and employed only in mock-fights; it is war alone, and real combats, which form the ſoldier. Egypt loved peace, becauſe it loved juſtice, and maintained ſoldiers only for its ſecurity. Its inhabitants, content with a country which abounded in all things, had no ambitious dreams of conqueſt. The Egyptians extended their reputation in a very different manner, by ſending colonies into all parts of the world, and with them laws and politeneſs. They triumphed by the wiſdom of their counſels, and the ſuperiority of their knowledge; and this empire of the mind appeared more noble and glorious to them, than that which is atchieved by arms and conqueſts. But nevertheleſs, Egypt has given birth to illuſtrious conquerors, as will be obſerved hereafter, when we come to treat of its Kings.

CHAPTER IV.

Of their Arts and Sciences.

THE Egyptians had an inventive genius, and turned it to profitable ſpeculations. Their Mercuries filled Egypt with wonderful inventions, and left it almoſt ignorant of nothing which could accompliſh the mind, or procure eaſe and happineſs. The diſcoverers of any uſeful invention received, both living and dead, rewards equal to their profitable labours. It is this conſecrated the books of their two Mercuries, and ſtamped them with a divine authority. The firſt libraries were in Egypt; and the titles they bore inſpired the reader with an eager deſire to enter them, and dive into the ſecrets they contained. They were called the *Office for the Diſeaſes of the Soul*, (ψυχῆς ἰατρεῖον), and that very juſtly, becauſe the ſoul was there cured of ignorance, the moſt dangerous and the parent of all her maladies.

As their country was level, and the air of it always ſerene and unclouded, they were ſome of the firſt who obſerved the courſes of the planets. Theſe obſervations led them to regulate the year * from the courſe of the ſun; for, as Diodorus obſerves,

* It will not ſeem ſurpriſing that the Egyptians, who were the moſt ancient obſervers of the celeſtial motions, ſhould have arrived at this knowledge; when it is conſidered, that the lunar year, made uſe of by the Greeks and Romans, tho' it appears ſo inconvenient and irregular, ſuppoſed nevertheleſs a knowledge of the ſolar year, ſuch as Diodorus Siculus aſcribes to the Egyptians. It will appear at firſt ſight, by calculating their intercalations, that thoſe who firſt divided the year in this manner

obſerves, their year, from the moſt remote antiquity, was compoſed of 365 days 6 hours. To adjuſt the property of their lands, which were every year covered by the overflowing of the Nile, they were obliged to have recourſe to ſurveys; and this firſt taught them geometry. They were great obſervers of nature, which, in a climate ſo ſerene, and under ſo intenſe a ſun, was vigorous and fruitful.

By this ſtudy and application they invented or improved the ſcience of phyſic. The ſick were not abandoned to the arbitrary will and caprice of the phyſician. He was obliged to follow fixed rules, which were the obſervations of old and experienced practitioners, and written in the ſacred books. While theſe rules were obſerved, the phyſician was not anſwerable for the ſucceſs; otherwiſe a miſcarriage coſt him his life. This law checked indeed the temerity of emperics; but then it might prevent new diſcoveries, and keep the art from attaining to its juſt perfection. Every phyſician, if Herodotus* may be credited, confined his practice to the cure of one diſeaſe only; one was for the eyes, another for the teeth, and ſo on.

What we have ſaid of the pyramids, the labyrinth, and that infinite number of obeliſks, temples, and palaces, whoſe precious remains ſtill ſtrike with admiration, and in which were diſplayed the magnificence of the princes who raiſed them, the ſkill of the workmen, the riches of the ornaments diffuſed over every part of them, and the juſt proportion and beautiful ſymmetry of the parts in which their greateſt beauty conſiſted; works, in many of which the livelineſs of the colours remain to this day, in ſpite of the rude hand of time, which commonly deadens or deſtroys them: all this, I ſay, ſhows the perfection to which architecture, painting, ſculpture, and all other arts, had arrived in Egypt.

†The Egyptians entertained but a mean opinion of that ſort of exerciſe, which did not contribute to invigorate the body, or improve health; nor of muſic‡, which they conſidered as an uſeleſs and dangerous diverſion, and only fit to enervate the mind.

manner were not ignorant, that to three hundred and ſixty-five days, ſome hours were to be added, to keep pace with the ſun. Their only error lay in the ſuppoſition that only ſix hours were wanting; whereas an addition of almoſt eleven minutes more was requiſite.

* L. ii. c. 84. † Diod. l. i. p. 73.

‡ Τὴν δὲ μουσικὴν νομίζουσιν ὁ μόνον ἄχρηστον ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλαβερὰν ὡς ἂν ἐκθηλύνουσαν τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ψυχάς.

CHAP.

CHAPTER V.

Of Husbandmen, Shepherds, and Artificers.

HUSBANDMEN*, ſhepherds, and artificers, formed the three claſſes of lower life in Egypt, but were nevertheleſs had in very great eſteem, particularly huſbandmen and ſhepherds. The body politic requires a ſuperiority and ſubordination of its ſeveral members; for as in the natural body, the eye may be ſaid to hold the firſt rank, yet its luſtre does not dart contempt upon the feet, the hands, or even on thoſe parts which are leſs honourable; in like manner, among the Egyptians, the prieſts, ſoldiers, and ſcholars were diſtinguiſhed by particular honours; but all profeſſions, to the meaneſt, had their ſhare in the public eſteem, becauſe the deſpiſing any man, whoſe labours, however mean, were uſeful to the ſtate, was thought a crime.

A better reaſon than the foregoing might have inſpired them at the firſt with theſe ſentiments of equity and moderation, which they ſo long preſerved. As they all deſcended from† Cham, their common father, the memory of their origin occurring freſh to the minds of all in thoſe firſt ages, eſtabliſhed among them a kind of equality, and ſtamped, in their opinion, a nobility on every perſon derived from the common ſtock. Indeed the difference of conditions, and the contempt with which perſons of the loweſt rank are treated, are owing merely to the diſtance from the common root; which makes us forget that the meaneſt plebeian, when his deſcent is traced back to the ſource, is equally noble with thoſe of the moſt elevated rank and titles.

Be that as it will, no profeſſion in Egypt was conſidered as groveling or ſordid. By this means arts were raiſed to their higheſt perfection. The honour which cheriſhed them mixed with every thought and care for their improvement. Every man had his way of life aſſigned him by the laws, and it was perpetuated from father to ſon. Two profeſſions at one time, or a change of that which a man was born to, were never allowed. By this means, men became more able and expert in employments which they had always exerciſed from their infancy; and every man adding his own experience to that of his anceſtors, was more capable of attaining perfection in his particular art. Beſides, this wholeſome inſtitution, which had been eſtabliſhed anciently throughout Egypt, extinguiſhed all

* Diod. l. i. p. 67, 68.

† Or Ham.

irregular

irregular ambition; and taught every man to ſit down contented with his condition, without aſpiring to one more elevated, from intereſt, vain-glory, or levity.

From this ſource flowed numberleſs inventions for the improvement of all the arts, and for rendering life more commodious, and trade more eaſy. I once could not believe that * Diodorus was in earneſt, in what he relates concerning the Egyptian induſtry, *viz.* that this people had found out a way, by an artful fecundity, to hatch eggs without the ſitting of the hen; but all modern travellers declare it to be a fact, which certainly is worthy of our curioſity, and is ſaid to be practiſed in Europe. Their relations inform us, that the Egyptians ſtow eggs in ovens, which are heated ſo temperately, and with ſuch juſt proportion to the natural warmth of the hen, that the chickens produced from theſe ovens are as ſtrong as thoſe which are hatched the natural way. The ſeaſon of the year proper for this operation is, from the end of December to the end of April, the heat in Egypt being too violent in the other months. During theſe four months, upwards of 300,000 eggs are laid in theſe ovens, which, though they are not all ſucceſsful, they nevertheleſs produce vaſt numbers of fowls at an eaſy rate. The art lies in giving the ovens a juſt degree of heat, which muſt not exceed a fixed proportion. About ten days are beſtowed in heating theſe ovens, and very near as much time in hatching the eggs. It is very entertaining, ſay theſe travellers, to obſerve the hatching of theſe chickens, ſome of which ſhew at firſt nothing but their heads, others but half their bodies, and others again come quite out of the egg; theſe laſt, the moment they are hatched, make their way over the unhatched eggs, and form a diverting ſpectacle. † Corneille le Bruyn, in his Travels, has collected the obſervations of other travellers on this ſubject. ‡ Pliny likewiſe mentions it; but it appears from him, that the Egyptians anciently employed warm dung, not ovens, to hatch eggs §.

* Diod. l. i. p. 67. † Tom. II. p. 64. ‡ Lib. x. c. 54.

§ The words of Pliny referred to by Mr. Rollin are theſe: "Nuper inde fortaſſe inventum, ut ova in calido loco impoſita paleis igne modico foverentur homine verſante, pariterque et ſtato die illinc erumperet fœtus." He ſpeaks of this invention as modern, and ſeems to refer it to the curioſity of Livia, the mother of Tiberius Cæſar, who deſirous of having a male child, put in an egg into her boſom, and when ſhe parted with it delivered it to one of her women to preſerve the heat. This ſhe made an augury to gueſs at the ſex of the child ſhe had then in her womb; and we are told, ſays Pliny, that ſhe was not deceived. It is probable Mr. Rollin may have met with ſome other place in Pliny favourable to his ſentiment, though after ſome ſearch I cannot find any.

I have

I have ſaid, that huſbandmen particularly, and thoſe who took care of flocks, were in great eſteem in Egypt, ſome parts of it excepted, where the latter were not ſuffered *. It was, indeed, to theſe two profeſſions that Egypt owed its riches and plenty. It is aſtoniſhing to reflect what advantages the Egyptians, by their art and labour, drew from a country of no great extent, but whoſe ſoil was made wonderfully fruitful by the inundations of the Nile, and the laborious induſtry of the inhabitants.

It will be always ſo with every kingdom, whoſe governors direct all their actions to the public welfare. The culture of lands, and the breeding of cattle, will be an inexhauſtible fund of wealth in all countries, where, as in Egypt, theſe profitable callings are ſupported and encouraged by maxims of ſtate and policy: and we may conſider it as a misfortune, that they are at preſent fallen into ſo general a diſeſteem; though it is from them that the moſt elevated ranks, as we eſteem them, are furniſhed not only with the neceſſaries, but even the delights of life. "For," ſays Abbé Fleury, in his admirable work, Of the Manners of the Iſraelites, where the ſubject I am upon is thoroughly examined, "it is the peaſant who feeds the citizen, "the magiſtrate, the gentleman, the eccleſiaſtic: and, what-"ever artifice and craft may be uſed to convert money into "commodities, and theſe back again into money, yet all muſt "ultimately be owned to be received from the products of the "earth, and the animals which it ſuſtains and nouriſhes. Ne-"verthelefs, when we compare men's different ſtations of life "together, we give the loweſt place to the huſbandman: and "with many people a wealthy citizen, enervated with ſloth, "uſeleſs to the public, and void of all merit, has the prefer-"ence, merely becauſe he has more money, and lives a more "eaſy and delightful life.

"But let us image to ourſelves a country where ſo great a "difference is not made between the ſeveral conditions; where "the life of a nobleman is not made to conſiſt in idleneſs and "doing nothing, but in a careful preſervation of his liberty; "that is, in a due ſubjection to the laws and conſtitution; by a "man's ſubſiſting upon his eſtate without any dependence, and "being contented to enjoy a little with liberty, rather than a "great deal at the price of mean and baſe compliances: a

* Hogherds, in particular, had a general ill name throughout Egypt, as they had the care of ſo impure an animal. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 47. tells us, that they were not permitted to enter the Egyptian temples, nor would any man give them his daughter in marriage.

"country,

" country, where ſloth, effeminacy, and the ignorance of " things neceſſary for life, are had in their juſt contempt, and " where pleaſure is leſs valued than health and bodily ſtrength : " in ſuch a country, it will be much more for a man's reputa- " tion to plough, and keep flocks, than to waſte all his hours " in ſauntering from place to place, in gaming, and expenſive " diverſions." But we need not have recourſe to Plato's Commonwealth for inſtances of men who have led theſe uſeful lives. It was thus that the greateſt part of mankind lived during near four thouſand years ; and that not only the Iſraelites, but the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans, that is to ſay, nations the moſt civilized, and moſt renowned for arms and wiſdom. They all inculcate the regard which ought to be paid to agriculture, and the breeding of cattle : one of which (without ſaying any thing of hemp and flax, ſo neceſſary for our clothing) ſupplies us, by corn, fruits, and pulſe, with not only a plentiful but delicious nouriſhment ; and the other, beſides its ſupply of exquiſite meats to cover our tables, almoſt alone gives life to manufactures and trade, by the ſkins and ſtuffs it furniſhes.

Princes are commonly deſirous, and their intereſt certainly requires it, that the peaſant, who, in a literal ſenſe, ſuſtains the heat and burden of the day, and pays ſo great a proportion of the national taxes, ſhould meet with favour and encouragement. But the kind and good intentions of princes are too often defeated by the inſatiable and mercileſs avarice of thoſe who are appointed to collect their revenues. Hiſtory has tranſmitted to us a fine ſaying of Tiberius on this head. * A prefect of Egypt having augmented the annual tribute of the province, and, doubtleſs with the view of making his court to the emperor, remitted to him a ſum much larger than was cuſtomary, that prince, who, in the beginning of his reign, thought, or at leaſt ſpoke juſtly, anſwered, " † That it was " his deſign not to ſlay, but to ſhear his ſheep."

CHAPTER VI.

The Fertility of Egypt.

UNDER this head, I ſhall treat only of ſome plants peculiar to Egypt, and of the abundance of corn which it produced.

* Diod. l. lvii. p. 608.

† Κείρεσθαί μῦ τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' ὐκ ἀποδύρεσθαι βέλομαι. Id. l. lvii.

Papyrus.

Papyrus. This is a plant, from the root of which ſhoot out a great many triangular ſtalks, to the height of ſix or ſeven cubits. * The ancients writ at firſt upon palm leaves; next on the inſide of the bark of trees, from whence the word *liber*, or book, is derived; after that, upon tables covered over with wax, on which the characters were impreſſed with an inſtrument called Stylus, ſharp-pointed at one end to write with, and flat at the other, to efface what had been written; which gave occaſion to the following expreſſion of Horace.

Sæpe ſtylum vertas, iterum quæ digna legi ſint
Scripturus: Sat. x. ver. 72.

Oft turn your ſtyle, if you deſire to write
Things that will bear a ſecond reading———

The meaning of which is, that a good performance is not to be expected without many corrections. At laſt the uſe of paper † was introduced, and this was made of the bark of Papyrus, divided into thin flakes or leaves, which were very proper for writing; and this Papyrus was likewiſe called Byblus.

Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere Byblos
Noverat. LUCAN.

Memphis as yet knew not to form in leaves
The wat'ry Byblus.

Pliny calls it a wonderful invention ‡, ſo uſeful to life, that it preſerves the memory of great actions, and immortalizes thoſe who atchieved them. Varro aſcribes this invention to Alexander the Great, when he built Alexandria; but he had only the merit of making paper more common, for the invention was of much greater antiquity. The ſame Pliny adds, that Eumenes, king of Pergamus, ſubſtituted parchment inſtead of paper; in emulation of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, whoſe library he was ambitious to excel by this invention, which carried the advantage over paper. Parchment is the ſkin of a ſheep dreſſed, and made fit to write upon. It was called *pergamenum* from Pergamus, whoſe kings had the honour of the invention. All the ancient manuſcripts are either upon parchment or vellum, which is calf-ſkin, and a great deal finer than the common parchment. It is very curious to ſee white fine paper, wrought

* Plin. l. xiii. c. 11.

† The Papyrus was divided into thin flakes, into which it naturally parted, which being laid on a table, and moiſtened with the glutinous waters of the Nile, were afterwards preſſed together, and dried in the ſun.

‡ Poſtea promiſcuè patuit uſus rei, qua conſtat immortalitas hominum. Chartæ uſu maxime humanitas conſtat in memoria.

out

out of filthy rags picked up in the ſtreets. * The plant Papyrus was uſeful likewiſe for ſails, tackling, clothes, coverlets, &c.

Linum. Flax is a plant, whoſe bark, full of fibres or ſtrings, is uſeful in making fine linen. The method of making this linen in Egypt was wonderful, and carried to ſuch perfection, that the threads which were drawn out of them were almoſt too ſmall for the obſervation of the ſharpeſt eye. Prieſts were always habited in linen, and never in woollen; and not only the prieſts, but all perſons of diſtinction generally wore linen clothes. This flax formed a conſiderable branch of the Egyptian trade, and great quantities of it were exported into foreign countries. The making of it employed a great number of hands, eſpecially of the women; as appears from that paſſage of Iſaiah, in which the prophet menaces Egypt with a drought of ſo terrible a kind, that it ſhould interrupt every kind of labour. "† Moreover, "they that work in fine flax, and they that weave net-work, "ſhall be confounded." We likewiſe find in ſcripture, that one effect of the plague of hail, called down by ‡ Moſes upon Egypt, was the deſtruction of all the flax which was then bolled. This ſtorm was in March.

Byſſus. § This was another kind of flax extremely fine and ſmall, which often received a purple dye. It was very dear; and none but rich and wealthy perſons could afford to wear it. Pliny, who gives the firſt place to the Aſbeſton or Aſbeſtinum, *i. e.* the incombuſtible flax, places the Byſſus in the next rank, and ſays, that it ſerved as an ornament to the ladies ‖. It appears from the holy ſcriptures that it was chiefly from Egypt that cloth made of this fine flax was brought. "** Fine linen "with broidered work from Egypt."

I take no notice of the Lotus or Lot-tree, a plant in great requeſt with the Egyptians, and whoſe berries ſerved them in former times for bread. There was another Lotus in Africa, which gave its name to the Lotophagi or Lotus-eaters; becauſe they lived upon the fruit of this tree, which had ſo delicious a taſte, if Homer may be credited, that it made the eaters of it

* Plin. l. xix. c. 1. † Iſa. xix. 9. ‡ Exod. ix. 31.

§ Plin. l. xix. c. 1.

‖ Proximus Byſſino mulierum maxime deliciis genito: inventum jam eſt etiam (ſcilicet Linum) quod ignibus non abſumetur; vivum id vocant, ardenteſque in focis conviviorum ex eo vidimus mappas, ſordibus exuſtis ſplendeſcentes igni magis, quam poſſent aquis. *i. e.* A flax is now found out, which is proof againſt the violence of fire; it is called living flax, and we have ſeen table napkins of it glowing in the fires of our dining rooms, and receiving a luſtre and cleanneſs from flames which no water could have given it.

** Ezek. xxvii. 7.

forget all the ſweets of their native country*, as Ulyſſes found to his coſt in his return from Troy.

In general, it may be ſaid, that the Egyptian pulſe and fruits were excellent; and might, as Pliny † obſerves, have ſufficed ſingly for the nouriſhment of the inhabitants, ſuch was their excellent quality, and ſo great their plenty. And indeed working men lived then almoſt upon nothing elſe, as appears from thoſe who were employed in building the pyramids.

Beſides theſe rural riches, the Nile, from its fiſh, and the fatneſs it gave to the ſoil for the feeding of cattle, furniſhed the tables of the Egyptians with the moſt excellent fiſh of every kind, and the moſt ſucculent fleſh. This it was which made the Iſraelites ſo deeply regret the loſs of Egypt, when they found themſelves in the dreary deſert. "Who," ſay they, in a plaintive, and at the ſame time ſeditious tone, "‡ ſhall give us "fleſh to eat? We remember the fleſh which we did eat in "Egypt freely; the cucumbers and melons, and the leeks, and "the onions, and the garlic. § We ſat by the fleſh-pots, and "we did eat bread to the full."

But the great and matchleſs wealth of Egypt aroſe from its corn, which, even in an almoſt univerſal famine, enabled it to ſupport all the neighbouring nations, as it particularly did under Joſeph's adminiſtration. In later ages it was the reſource and moſt certain granary of Rome and Conſtantinople. It is a well known ſtory, how a calumny raiſed againſt St. Athanaſius, *viz.* of his having menaced Conſtantinople, that for the future no more corn ſhould be imported to it from Alexandria, incenſed the emperor Conſtantine againſt that holy biſhop, becauſe he knew that his capital city could not ſubſiſt without the corn which was brought to it from Egypt. The ſame reaſon induced all the emperors of Rome to take ſo great a care of Egypt, which they conſidered as the nurſing mother of the world's metropolis.

Nevertheleſs, the ſame river which enabled this province to ſubſiſt the two moſt populous cities in the world, ſometimes reduced even Egypt itſelf to the moſt terrible famine: and it is aſtoniſhing that Joſeph's wiſe foreſight, which in fruitful years had made proviſion for ſeaſons of ſterility, ſhould not have hint-

* Τῶν δ' ὅτις λωτοῖο φάγοι μελιηδέα καρπὸν,
Οἶκ ἔτ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι πάλιν ἤθελεν, οὐδὲ νέεσθαι. Odyss. ix. ver. 94, 95.
Μή πώ τις λωτοῖο φαγὼν, νόστοιο λάθηται. Odyss. ix. ver. 102.

† Egyptus frugum quidem fertiliſſima, ſed ut prope ſola iis carere poſſit, tanta eſt ciborum ex herbis abundantia. Plin. l. xxi. c. 15.

‡ Numb. xi. 4, 5. § Exod. xvi. 3.

ed

ed to theſe ſo much boaſted politicians, a like care againſt the changes and inconſtancy of the Nile. Pliny, in his panygeric upon Trajan, paints with wonderful ſtrength the extremity to which that country was reduced by a famine under that prince's reign, and his generous relief of it. The reader will not be diſpleaſed to read here an extract of it, in which a greater regard will be had to Pliny's thoughts, than to his expreſſions.

The Egyptians, ſays Pliny, who gloried that they needed neither rain nor ſun to produce their corn, and who believed they might confidently conteſt the prize of plenty with the moſt fruitful countries of the world, were condemned to an unexpected drought, and a fatal ſterility, from the greateſt part of their territories being deſerted and left unwatered by the Nile, whoſe inundation is the ſource and ſure ſtandard of their abundance. They then *implored that aſſiſtance from their prince which they uſed to expect only from their river. The delay of their relief was no longer, than that which employed a courier to bring the melancholy news to Rome; and one would have imagined, that this misfortune had befallen them only to diſtinguiſh with greater luſtre the generoſity and goodneſs of Cæſar. †It was an ancient and general opinion, that our city could not ſubſiſt without proviſions drawn from Egypt. This vain and proud nation boaſted, that, though it was conquered, it nevertheleſs fed its conquerors; that, by means of its river, either abundance or ſcarcity were entirely in its diſpoſal. But we now have returned the Nile his own harveſts, and given him back the proviſions he ſent us. Let the Egyptians be then convinced, by their own experience, that they are not neceſſary to us, and are only our vaſſals. Let them know that their ſhips do not ſo much bring us the proviſion we ſtand in need of, as the tribute which they owe us: and let them never forget, that we can do without them, but that they can never do without us. This moſt fruitful province had been ruined, had it not wore the Roman chains. The Egyptians, in their ſovereign, had found a deliverer and a father. Aſtoniſhed at the ſight of their granaries, filled with-

* Inundatione, id eſt, ubertate regio fraudata, ſic opem Cæſaris invocavit, ut ſolet amnem ſuum.

† Percrebuerat antiquitas urbem noſtram niſi opibus Egypti ali ſuſtentarique non poſſe. Superbiebat ventoſa et inſolens natio, quod victorem quidem populum paſceret tamen, quodque in ſuo flumine, in ſuis manibus, vel abundatia noſtra, vel fames eſſet. Reſudimus Nilo ſuas copias. Recepit frumenta quæ miſerat, deportataſque meſſes revexit.

out any labour of their own, they were at a loſs to know to whom they owed this foreign and gratuitous plenty. The famine of a people at ſuch diſtance from us, and which was ſo ſpeedily ſtopped, ſerved only to let them feel the advantage of living under our empire. The * Nile may, in other times, have diffuſed more plenty on Egypt, but never more glory upon us. May heaven, content with this proof of the people's patience, and the prince's generoſity, reſtore for ever back to Egypt its ancient fertility!

Pliny's reproach to the Egyptians, for their vain and fooliſh pride with regard to the inundations of the Nile, points out one of their moſt peculiar characteriſtics, and recalls to my mind a fine paſſage of Ezekiel, where God thus ſpeaks to Pharaoh, one of their kings, "† Behold I am againſt thee, Pha-"raoh, king of Egypt, the great Dragon that lieth in the midſt "of his rivers, which hath ſaid, My river is mine own, and I "have made it for myſelf." God perceived an inſupportable pride in the heart of this prince: a ſenſe of ſecurity and confidence in the inundations of the Nile, independent entirely on the influences of heaven; as though the happy effects of this inundation had been owing to nothing but his own care and labour, or thoſe of his predeceſſors: "The river is mine, "and I have made it."

Before I conclude this ſecond part of the manners of the Egyptians, I think it incumbent on me, to beſpeak the attention of my readers to different paſſages ſcattered in the hiſtory of Abraham, Jacob, Joſeph, and Moſes, which confirm and illuſtrate part of what we meet with in profane authors upon this ſubject. They will there obſerve the perfect polity which reigned in Egypt, both in the court and the reſt of the kingdom; the vigilance of the prince, who was informed of all tranſactions, had a regular council, a choſen number of miniſters, armies ever well maintained and diſciplined, and of every order of ſoldiery, horſe, foot, armed chariots; intendants in all the provinces; overſeers or guardians of the public granaries; wiſe and exact diſpenſers of the corn lodged in them; a court compoſed of great officers of the crown, a captain of his guards, a cup-bearer, a maſter of his pantry; in a word, all things that compoſe a prince's houſehold, and conſtitute a magnificent court. ‡ But above all theſe, the readers will admire the fear in which the threatenings of God were held, the inſpector of all

* Nilus Egypto quidem ſæpe, ſed gloriæ noſtræ nunquam largior fluxit.
† Ezek. xxix. 3. 9. ‡ Gen. xii. 10, 26.

actions,

actions, and the judge of kings themselves; and the horror the Egyptians had for adultery, which was acknowleded to be a crime of so heinous a nature, that it alone was capable of bringing destruction on a nation.

PART THIRD.

The History of the Kings of Egypt.

NO part of ancient history is more obscure or uncertain, than that of the first kings of Egypt. This proud nation, fondly conceited of its antiquity and nobility, thought it glorious to lose itself in an abyss of infinite ages, as though it seemed to carry its pretensions backward to eternity. *According to its own historians, first gods, and afterwards demi-gods or heroes, governed successively through a series of more than twenty thousand years. But the absurdity of this vain and fabulous claim is easily discovered.

To gods and demi-gods, men succeeded as rulers or kings in Egypt, of whom Manethon has left us thirty dynasties or principalities. This Manethon was an Egyptian high-priest and keeper of the sacred archives of Egypt, and had been instructed in the Grecian learning: He wrote a history of Egypt, which he pretended to have extracted from the writings of Mercurius and other ancient memoirs preserved in the archives of the Egyptian temples. He drew up this history under the reign, and at the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus. If his thirty dynasties are allowed to be successive, they make up a series of time of more than five thousand three hundred years to the reign of Alexander the Great; but this is a manifest forgery. Besides, we find in Eratosthenes†, who was invited to Alexandria by Ptolemy Evergetes, a catalogue of thirty-eight kings of Thebes, all different from those of Manethon. The clearing up of these difficulties has put the learned to a great deal of trouble and labour. The most effectual way to reconcile such contradictions, is, to suppose, with almost all the modern writers upon this subject, that the kings of these different dynasties did not reign successively after one another, but many of them at the same time, and in different countries of Egypt. There were in Egypt four principal dynasties, that of Thebes, of Thin, of Memphis, and of Tanis. I shall not here give my readers a list of the kings who have

* Diod. l. i. p. 41. † An historian of Cyrene.

reigned in Egypt, moſt of whom are only tranſmitted to us by their names. I ſhall only take notice of what ſeems to me moſt proper, to give youth the neceſſary light into this part of hiſtory, for whoſe ſake principally I engaged in this undertaking; and I ſhall confine myſelf chiefly to the memoirs left us by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus concerning the Egyptian kings, without even ſcrupulouſly preſerving the exactneſs of ſucceſſion, in the beginnings at leaſt, which are very obſcure, or pretending to reconcile theſe hiſtorians. Their deſign, eſpecially that of Herodotus, was not to lay before us an exact ſeries of the kings of Egypt, but only to point out thoſe princes whoſe hiſtory appeared to them moſt important and inſtructive. I ſhall follow the ſame plan, and hope to be forgiven, for not having involved either myſelf, or my readers, in a labyrinth of almoſt inextricable difficulties, from which the moſt capable can ſcarce diſengage themſelves, when they pretend to follow the ſeries of hiſtory, and reduce it to fixed and certain dates. The curious may conſult the learned* pieces, in which this ſubject is treated in all its extent.

I am to premiſe, that Herodotus, upon the credit of the Egyptian prieſts, whom he had conſulted, gives us a great number of oracles, and ſingular incidents, all which, though he relates them as ſo many facts, the judicious reader will eaſily diſcover to be what they are, I mean fictions.

The ancient hiſtory of Egypt comprehends 2158 years, and is naturally divided into three periods.

The firſt begins with the eſtabliſhment of the Egyptian monarchy, by Menes or Miſraïm, the ſon of †Cham, in the year of the world 1816, and ends with the deſtruction of that monarchy, by Cambyſes, king of Perſia, in the year of the world 3479. This firſt period contains 1663 years.

The ſecond part is intermixed with the Perſian and Grecian hiſtory, extended to the death of Alexander the Great, which happened in the year 3681, and conſequently includes 202 years.

The third period is that in which a new monarchy was formed in Egypt by the Lagides or Ptolemies, deſcendents from Lagus, to the death of Cleopatra, the laſt queen of Egypt in 3974, and this laſt comprehends 293 years.

I ſhall now treat only of the firſt period, reſerving the two others for the eras to which they belong.

* Sir John Marſham's Chronic. Canon. Father Pezron; the Diſſertation of F. Tournemine, and Abbe Sevin, &c.

† Or Ham.

THE

THE KINGS OF EGYPT.

MENES *. Hiſtorians are unanimouſly agreed, that Menes was the firſt king of Egypt. It is pretended, and not without foundation, that he is the ſame with Miſraïm, the ſon of Cham.

Cham was the ſecond ſon of Noah. When the family of the latter, after the extravagant attempt of building the tower of Babel, diſperſed themſelves into different countries, Cham retired to Africa, and it doubtleſs was he who afterwards was worſhipped as a god, under the name of Jupiter Ammon. He had four children, † Chus, Miſraïm, Phut, and Canaan. Chus ſettled in Ethiopia, Miſraïm in Egypt, which generally is called in ſcripture after his name, and by that of Cham ‡ his father; Phut took poſſeſſion of that part of Africa which lies weſtward of Egypt; and Canaan, of the country which has ſince bore his name. The Canaanites are certainly the ſame people, who are called almoſt always Phœnicians by the Greeks, of which foreign name no reaſon can be given, any more than of the oblivion of the true one.

§ I return to Miſraïm. He is agreed to be the ſame with Menes, whom all hiſtorians declare to be the firſt king of Egypt, the inſtitutor of the worſhip of the gods, and of the ceremonies of the ſacrifices.

BUSIRIS, ſome ages after him, built the famous city of Thebes, and made it the ſeat of his empire. We have elſewhere taken notice of the wealth and magnificence of this city. This prince is not to be confounded with Buſiris, ſo infamous for his cruelties.

OSYMANDYAS. ‖ Diodorus gives a very particular deſcription of many magnificent edifices, raiſed by this king; one of which was adorned with ſculptures and paintings of exquiſite beauty, repreſenting his expedition againſt the Bactrians, a people of Aſia, whom he had invaded with 400,000 foot, and 20,000 horſe. In another part of the edifice, were exhibited an aſſembly of the judges, whoſe preſident wore on his breaſt a picture of truth, with her eyes ſhut, and himſelf ſurrounded with books; an emphatic emblem, denoting that judges ought

* A. M. 1816. Ant. J. C. 2188. † Or Cuſh, Gen. x. 6.

‡ The footſteps of its old name, Meſraim, remain to this day among the Arabians, who call it Meſre; by the teſtimony of Plutarch, it was called χημία, Chemia, by an eaſy corruption of Chamia, and this for Cham or Ham.

§ Herod. l. ii. p. 92. Diod. l. i. p. 42. ‖ Diod. l. i. p. 44, 45.

to

to be perfectly verſed in the laws, and impartial in the adminiſtration of them.

The king likewiſe was painted here, offering to the gods gold and ſilver, which he drew every year from the mines of Egypt, amounting to the ſum of ſixteen millions *.

Not far from hence, was ſeen a magnificent library, the oldeſt mentioned in hiſtory. Its title or inſcription on the front was, "The office, or treaſury, for the diſeaſes of the ſoul." Near it were ſtatues, repreſenting all the Egyptian gods, to each of whom the king made ſuitable offerings; by which he ſeemed to be deſirous of informing poſterity, that his life and reign had been crowned with piety to the gods, and juſtice to men.

His mauſoleum diſcovered an uncommon magnificence; it was encompaſſed with a circle of gold, a cubit in breadth, and 365 cubits in circumference; each of which ſhowed the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, moon, and the reſt of the planets. †For ſo old as this king's reign, the Egyptians divided the year into twelve months, each conſiſting of thirty days; to which they added every year five days and ſix hours. The ſpectator did not know which to admire moſt in this ſtately monument, whether the richneſs of its materials, or the genius and induſtry of the artiſts and workmen.

‡Uchoreus, one of the ſucceſſors of Oſymandyas, built the city of Memphis. This city was 150 furlongs, or more than ſeven leagues, in circumference, and ſtood at the point of the Delta, in that part where the Nile divides itſelf into ſeveral branches or ſtreams. Southward from the city, he raiſed a very high mole. On the right and left he dug very deep moats to receive the river. Theſe were faced with ſtone, and raiſed, near the city, by ſtrong cauſeys; the whole deſigned to ſecure the city from the inundations of the Nile, and the incurſions of the enemy. A city ſo advantageouſly ſituated, and ſo ſtrongly fortified, that it was almoſt the key of the Nile, and, by this means, commanded the whole country, became ſoon the uſual reſidence of the Egyptian kings. It kept poſſeſſion of this honour, till it was forced to reſign it to Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great.

Moeris. This king made the famous lake, which went by his name, and whereof mention has been already made.

‡Egypt had long been governed by its native princes, when

* Three thouſand two hundred myriads of Minæ.
† See Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronology, p. 30. ‡ Diod. p. 46.
§ A. M. 1920. Ant. J. C. 2084.

ſtrangers,

ſtrangers, called Shepherd-kings (Hycſos in the Egyptian language), from Arabia or Phœnicia, invaded and ſeized a great part of Lower Egypt, and Memphis itſelf; but Upper Egypt remained unconquered, and the kingdom of Thebes exiſted till the reign of Seſoſtris. Theſe foreign princes governed about 260 years.

*Under one of theſe princes, called Pharaoh in the ſcripture, a name common to all the kings of Egypt, Abraham arrived there with his wife Sarah, who was expoſed to great hazard, on account of her exquiſite beauty, which reaching the prince's ear, ſhe was by him taken from Abraham, upon the ſuppoſition that ſhe was not his wife, but only his ſiſter.

†Thethmosis, or Amoſis, having expelled the Shepherd-kings, reigned in Lower Egypt.

‡ Long after his reign, Joſeph was brought a ſlave into Egypt, by ſome Iſhmaelitiſh merchants; ſold to Potiphar; and, by a ſeries of wonderful events, enjoyed the ſupreme authority, by his being raiſed to the chief employment of the kingdom. I ſhall paſs over his hiſtory, as it is ſo univerſally known; but muſt take notice of a remark of Juſtin (the epitomiſer of Trogus Pompeius, § an excellent hiſtorian of the Auguſtan age), *viz.* that Joſeph, the youngeſt of Jacob's children, whom his brethren, fired by envy, had ſold to foreign merchants, being endowed from heaven ‖ with the interpretation of dreams, and a knowledge of futurity, preſerved, by his uncommon prudence, Egypt from the famine with which it was menaced, and was extremely careſſed by the king.

**Jacob alſo went into Egypt with his whole family, which met with the kindeſt treatment from the Egyptians, whilſt Joſeph's important ſervices were freſh in their memories. But after his death, ſay the ſcriptures, "†† there aroſe up a new "king, which knew not Joſeph."

‡‡Rameses Miamun, according to archbiſhop Uſher, was the name of the king who is called Pharaoh in ſcripture. He reigned 66 years, and oppreſſed the Iſraelites in a moſt grievous manner. "§§He ſet over them taſk-maſters, to afflict

* A. M. 2084. Ant. J. C. 1920. Gen. xii. 10. 20.
† A. M. 2179. Ant. J. C. 1825. ‡ A. M. 2276. Ant. J. C. 1728.
§ Lib. xxxvi. c. 2.
‖ Juſtin aſcribes this gift of heaven to Joſeph's ſkill in magical arts. Cum magicas ibi artes (Egypto ſo.) ſolerti ingenio percepiſſet, &c.
** A. M. 2298. Ant. J. C. 1706.
†† Exod. i. 8. ‡‡ A. M. 2427. Ant. J. C. 1577. §§ Exod. i. 11, 13, 14.

"them

" them with their burdens, and they built for Pharaoh trea-
" ſure-cities, *Pithom and Raamſes—and the Egyptians made
" the children of Iſrael to ſerve with rigour, and they made
" their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick,
" and in all manner of ſervice in the field; all their ſervice
" wherein they made them ſerve, was with rigour." This king had two ſons, Amenophis and Buſiris.

AMENOPHIS†, the eldeſt, ſucceeded him. He was the Pharoah, under whoſe reign the Iſraelites departed out of Egypt, and who was drowned in his paſſage through the Red Sea.

‡ Father Tournemine makes Seſoſtris, of whom we ſhall ſpeak immediately, the Pharoah who raiſed the perſecution againſt the Iſraelites, and oppreſſed them with the moſt painful toils. This is exactly agreeable to the account given by Diodorus of this prince, who employed in his Egyptian works only foreigners; ſo that we may place the memorable event of the paſſage of the Red Sea, under his ſon Pheron§; and the characteriſtic of impiety, aſcribed to him by Herodotus, greatly ſtrengthens the probability of this conjecture. The plan I have propoſed to follow in this hiſtory, excuſes me from entering into chronological diſcuſſions.

||Diodorus, ſpeaking of the Red Sea, has made one remark very worthy of our obſervation; a tradition, ſays that hiſtorian, has been tranſmitted through the whole nation, from father to ſon, for many ages, that once an extraordinary ebb dried up the ſea, ſo that its bottom was ſeen; and that a violent flow immediately after brought back the waters to their former channel. It is evident, that the miraculous paſſage of Moſes over the Red Sea is here hinted at; and I make this remark, purpoſely to admoniſh young ſtudents, not to ſlip over in their peruſal of authors, theſe precious remains of antiquity; eſpecially when they bear, like this paſſage, any relation to religion.

Archbiſhop Uſher ſays, that Amenophis left two ſons, one called Seſothis or Seſoſtris, and the other Armais. The Greeks call him Belus, and his two ſons Egyptus and Danaus.

* Heb. urbes theſaurorum; 70 urbes munitas. Theſe cities were appointed to preſerve, as in a ſtore-honſe, the corn, oil, and other products of Egypt. Vatab.

† A. M. 2494. Ant. J. C. 1510. ‡ A. M. 2513. Ant. J. C. 1491.

§ This name bears a great reſemblance to Pharaoh, ſo common to the Egyptian kings.

|| Lib. iii. p. 74.

*Sesostris was not only one of the moſt powerful kings of Egypt, but one of the greateſt conquerors that antiquity boaſts of.

His father, whether by inſpiration, caprice, or, as the Egyptians ſay, by the authority of an oracle, formed a deſign of making his ſon a conqueror. This he ſet about after the Egyptian manner, that is, in a great and noble way; all the male-children born the ſame day with Seſoſtris, were, by the king's order, brought to court. Here they were educated as if they had been his own children, with the ſame care beſtowed on Seſoſtris, with whom they were lodged. He could not poſſibly have given him more faithful miniſters, or officers who more zealouſly deſired the ſucceſs of his arms. The chief part of their education was, the inuring them, from their infancy, to a hard and laborious life, in order that they might one day be capable of ſuſtaining with eaſe the toils of war. They were never ſuffered to eat, till they had run, on foot or horſeback, a conſiderable race. Hunting was their moſt common exerciſe.

† Ælian remarks that Seſoſtris was taught by Mercury, who inſtructed him in politics, and the arts of government. This Mercury is he whom the Greeks called Triſmegiſtus, *i. e.* thrice great. Egypt, his native country, owes to him the invention of almoſt every art. The two books, which go under his name, bear ſuch evident characters of novelty, that the forgery is no longer doubted. There was another Mercury, who alſo was very famous among the Egyptians, for his rare knowledge, and of much greater antiquity than him in queſtion. Jamblicus, a prieſt of Egypt, affirms, that it was cuſtomary with the Egyptians, to publiſh all new books or inventions under the name of Hermes, or Mercury.

When Seſoſtris was more advanced in years, his father ſent him againſt the Arabians, in order that by fighting againſt them, he might acquire military knowledge. Here the young prince learned to bear hunger and thirſt, and ſubdued a nation which till then had never been conquered. The youth educated with him, attended him in all his campaigns.

Accuſtomed by this conqueſt to martial toils, he was next ſent by his father to try his fortune weſtward. He invaded Libya, and ſubdued the greateſt part of that vaſt continent.

‡Sesostris. In the time of this expedition, his father

* Herod. l. ii. cap. 102. 110. Diod. l. i. p. 48. 54.

† Τὰ νοήματα ἐκμεστώθηναι. Lib. 12. c. 4.

‡ A. M. 2513. Ant. J. C. 1491.

died,

died, and left him capable of attempting the greateſt enterpriſes. He formed no leſs a deſign than that of the conqueſt of the world. But before he left his kingdom, he had provided for his domeſtic ſecurity; in winning the hearts of his ſubjects by his generoſity, juſtice, and a popular and obliging behaviour. He was no leſs ſtudious to gain the affection of his officers and ſoldiers, who were ever ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in his ſervice; perſuaded that his enterpriſes would all be unſucceſsful, unleſs his army ſhould be attached to his perſon, by all the ties of eſteem, affection, and intereſt. He divided the country into 36 governments, called Nomi, and beſtowed them on perſons of merit, and the moſt approved fidelity.

In the mean time he made the requiſite preparations, levied forces, and headed them with officers of the greateſt bravery and reputation, that were taken chiefly from among the youths who had been educated with him. He had 1700 of theſe officers, who all were capable of inſpiring his troops with reſolution, a love of diſcipline, and a zeal for the ſervice of their prince. His army conſiſted of 600,000 foot, and 24,000 horſe, beſides 27,000 armed chariots.

He began his expedition by invading Ethiopia, ſituated to the ſouth of Egypt. He made it tributary, and obliged the nations of it to furniſh him annually with a certain quantity of ebony, ivory, and gold.

He had fitted out a fleet of 400 ſail, and ordering it to ſail to the Red Sea, made himſelf maſter of the iſles and cities lying on the coaſts of that ſea. He himſelf heading his land army, over-ran and ſubdued Aſia with amazing rapidity, and pierced farther into India than Hercules, Bacchus, and, in after times, Alexander himſelf had ever done; for he ſubdued the countries beyond the Ganges, and advanced as far as the ocean. One may judge from hence how unable the more neighbouring countries were to reſiſt him. The Scythians, as far as the river Tanais, Armenia, and Cappadocia, were conquered. He left a colony in the ancient kingdom of Colchos, ſituated to the eaſt of the Black Sea, where the Egyptian cuſtoms and manners have been ever ſince retained. Herodotus ſaw in Aſia Minor, from one ſea to the other, monuments of his victories. In ſeveral countries was read the following inſcription engraven on pillars: "Seſoſtris, king of kings, and lord of lords, ſubdued this country by the power of his arms." Such pillars were found even in Thrace, and his empire extended from the Ganges to the Danube. In his expeditions, ſome nations

nations bravely defended their liberties, and others yielded them up without making the leaſt reſiſtance. This diſparity was denoted by him in hieroglyphical figures, on the monuments erected to perpetuate the remembrance of his victories, agreeably to the Egyptian practice.

The ſcarcity of proviſions in Thrace ſtopped the progreſs of his conqueſts, and prevented his advancing farther into Europe. One remarkable circumſtance is obſerved in this conqueror, who never once thought, as others had done, of preſerving his acquiſitions; but contenting himſelf with the glory of having ſubdued and deſpoiled ſo many nations, after having made wild havoc up and down the world for nine years, he confined himſelf almoſt within the ancient limits of Egypt, a few neighbouring provinces excepted; for we do not find any traces or footſteps of this new empire, either under himſelf or his ſucceſſors.

He returned therefore laden with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed nations; dragging after him a numberleſs multitude of captives, and covered with greater glory than his predeceſſors; that glory I mean which employs ſo many tongues and pens in its praiſe; which invades a great number of provinces in a hoſtile way, and is often productive of numberleſs calamities. He rewarded his officers and ſoldiers with a truly royal magnificence, in proportion to their rank and merit. He made it both his pleaſure and duty, to put the companions of his victory in ſuch a condition as might enable them to enjoy, during the remainder of their days, a calm and eaſy repoſe, the juſt reward of their paſt toils.

With regard to himſelf, for ever careful of his own reputation, and ſtill more of making his power advantageous to his ſubjects, he employed the repoſe which peace allowed him, in raiſing works that might contribute more to the enriching of Egypt, than the immortalizing his name; works, in which the art and induſtry of the workmen were more admired, than the immenſe ſums which had been expended on them.

An hundred famous temples, raiſed as ſo many monuments of gratitude to the tutelar gods of all the cities, were the firſt, as well as the moſt illuſtrious teſtimonies of his victories; and he took care to publiſh in the inſcriptions of them, that theſe mighty works had been completed without the aſſiſtance of any of his ſubjects. He made it his glory to be tender of them, and employ only captives in theſe monuments of his conqueſts. The ſcriptures take notice of ſomething like this,

where they ſpeak of the buildings of Solomon*. But he was eſpecially ſtudious of adorning and enriching the temple of Vulcan at Peluſium, in acknowledgment of that god's imaginary protection of him, when, on his return from his expeditions, his brother had a deſign of deſtroying him, in that city, with his wife and children, by ſetting fire to the apartment where he then lay.

His great work was the raiſing, in every part of Egypt, a conſiderable number of high banks or moles, on which new cities were built, to be a ſecurity for men and beaſts during the inundations of the Nile.

From Memphis, as far as the ſea, he cut, on both ſides of the river, a great number of canals, for the conveniency of trade, and the conveying of proviſions, and for the ſettling an eaſy correſpondence between ſuch cities as were moſt diſtant from one another. Beſides the advantages of traffic, Egypt was, by theſe canals, made inacceſſible to the cavalry of its enemies, which before had ſo often haraſſed it, by repeated incurſions.

He went farther: To ſecure Egypt from the inroads of its nearer neighbours, the Syrians and Arabians, he fortified all the eaſtern coaſt from Peluſium to Heliopolis, that is, for upwards of ſeven leagues†.

Seſoſtris might have been conſidered as one of the moſt illuſtrious and moſt boaſted heroes of antiquity, had not the luſtre of his warlike actions, as well as his pacific virtues, been tarniſhed by a thirſt of glory, and a blind fondneſs for his own grandeur, which made him forget that he was a man. The kings and chiefs of the conquered nations came, at ſtated times, to do homage to their victor, and pay him the appointed tribute. On every other occaſion, he treated them with ſome humanity and generoſity: but when he went to the temple, or entered his capital, he cauſed theſe princes, four abreaſt, to be harneſſed to his car, inſtead of horſes; and valued himſelf upon his being thus drawn by the lords and ſovereigns of other nations. What I am moſt ſurpriſed at is, that Diodorus ſhould rank this fooliſh and inhuman vanity among the moſt ſhining actions of this prince.

‡Being grown blind in his old age, he diſpatched himſelf, after having reigned 33 years, and left his kingdom infinitely

* 2 Chron. viii. 9. But of the children of Iſrael did Solomon make no ſervants for his work.

† 150 ſtadia, about 18 miles Engliſh.

‡ Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 60.

rich.

rich. His empire nevertheleſs did not reach beyond the fourth generation. But there ſtill remained, ſo low as the reign of Tiberius, magnificent monuments, which ſhewed the extent of Egypt under * Seſoſtris, and the immenſe tributes which were paid to it †.

I now go back to ſome facts which ſhould have been mentioned before, as they fell out in this period, but were omitted, in order that I might not break the thread of the hiſtory, and therefore will now be only glanced at.

About the era in queſtion, the Egyptians ſettled themſelves in divers parts of the earth. ‡ The colony which Cecrops led out of Egypt, built twelve cities, or rather ſo many towns, of which he compoſed the kingdom of Athens.

We obſerved, that the brother of Seſoſtris, called by the Greeks Danaus, had formed a deſign to murder him, in his return to Egypt from his conqueſts. § But being defeated in his horrid project, he was obliged to fly. He thereupon retired to Peloponneſus, where he ſeized upon the kingdom of Argos, which had been founded about 400 years before, by Inachus.

|| Busiris, brother of Amenophis, ſo infamous among the ancients for his cruelites, exerciſed his tyranny at that time on the banks of the Nile, and barbarouſly cut the throats of all foreigners who landed in his country. This was probably during the abſence of Seſoſtris.

** About the ſame time, Cadmus brought from Syria into Greece the invention of letters. Some pretend, that theſe characters or letters were Egyptian, and that Cadmus himſelf was a native of Egypt, and not of Phœnicia; and the Egyptians, who aſcribe to themſelves the invention of every art, and boaſt of a greater antiquity than any other nation, gave to their Mercury the honour of inventing letters. Moſt of the learned †† agree, that Cadmus carried the Phœnician or Syrian letters into Greece, and that thoſe letters were Hebraic; the Hebrews, as a ſmall nation, being comprehended under the ge-

* Tacit. Ann. l. ii.

† Legebantur indicta gentibus tributa—haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana jubentur—inſcribed on pillars, were read the tributes impoſed on vanquiſhed nations, which were not inferior to thoſe now paid to the Parthian and Roman powers.

‡ A. M. 2448. § A. M. 2530. || A. M. 2533.

** A. M. 2549.

†† The reader may conſult, on this ſubject, two learned diſſertations of Abbé Renaudot, inſerted in the ſecond volume of The Hiſtory of the Academy of Inſcriptions.

neral name of Syrians. Joſeph Scaliger, in his notes on the Chronicon of Euſebius, proves, that the Greek letters, and thoſe of the Latin alphabet formed from them, derive their original from the ancient Phœnician letters, which are the ſame with the Samaritan, and were uſed by the Jews before the Babyloniſh captivity. Cadmus carried only ſixteen letters * into Greece, eight others being added afterwards.

I return to the hiſtory of the Egyptian kings, whom I ſhall hereafter rank in the ſame order as Herodotus.

† PHERON ſucceeded Seſoſtris in his kingdom, but not in his glory. ‡ Herodotus relates but one action of his, which ſhews how greatly he had degenerated from the religious ſentiments of his father. In an extraordinary inundation of the Nile, which exceeded eighteen cubits, this prince, enraged at the wild havoc which was made by it, threw a javelin at the river, as if he intended thereby to chaſtiſe its inſolence; but was himſelf immediately puniſhed for his impiety, if the hiſtorian may be credited, with the loſs of ſight.

§ PROTEUS. ‖ He was of Memphis, where, in Herodotus's time, his temple was ſtill ſtanding, in which was a chapel dedicated to Venus the Stranger. It is conjectured that this Venus was Helen: for, in the reign of this monarch, Paris the

* The ſixteen letters brought by Cadmus into Greece, are α, β, γ, δ, ϵ, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, o, π, ρ, σ, τ, υ. Palamedes, at the ſiege of Troy, *i. e.* upwards of 250 years lower than Cadmus, added the four following, ζ, θ, φ, χ; and Simonides, a long time after, invented the four others, namely, η, ω, ξ, ψ.

† A. M. 2547. Ant. J. C. 1457. ‡ Herod. l. ii. c. 111. Diod. l. ii. p. 54.

§ A. M. 2800. Ant. J. C. 1204. Herod. l. ii. c. 112, 120.

‖ I do not think myſelf obliged to enter here into a diſcuſſion, which would be attended with very perplexing difficulties, ſhould I pretend to reconcile the ſeries or ſucceſſion of the kings as given by Herodotus, with the opinion of archbiſhop Uſher. This laſt ſuppoſes, with a great many other learned men, that Seſoſtris is the ſon of that Egyptian king who was drowned in the Red Sea, whoſe reign muſt conſequently have begun in the year of the world 2513, and continued till the year 2547, ſince it laſted 33 years. Should we allow 50 years to the reign of Pheron his ſon, there would ſtill be an interval of above 200 years between Pheron and Proteus, who, according to Herodotus, ſucceeded immediately the firſt; ſince Proteus lived at the time of the ſiege of Troy, which, according to Uſher, was taken An. Mun. 2820. I know not whether his almoſt total ſilence on the Egyptian kings after Seſoſtris was owing to his ſenſe of this difficulty. I ſuppoſe a long interval to have been between Pheron and Proteus; accordingly Diodorus, lib. cliv. fills it up with a great many kings; and the ſame muſt be ſaid of ſome of the following kings.

Trojan,

Trojan, returning home with Helen, whom he had ſtolen, was drove by a ſtorm into one of the mouths of the Nile, called the Canopic, and from thence was conducted to Proteus at Memphis, who reproached him in the ſtrongeſt terms for his baſe perfidy and guilt, in ſtealing the wife of his hoſt, and with her all the effects in his houſe. He added, that the only reaſon why he did not puniſh him with death, as his crime deſerved, was, becauſe the Egyptians did not care to imbrue their hands in the blood of ſtrangers: that he would keep Helen, with all the riches that were brought with her, in order to reſtore them to their owner: that as for himſelf, Paris, he muſt either quit his dominions in three days, or expect to be treated as an enemy. The king's order was obeyed. Paris continued his voyage, and arrived at Troy, whither he was cloſely purſued by the Grecian army. The Greeks ſummoned the Trojans to ſurrender Helen, and, with her, all the treaſures of which her huſband had been plundered. The Trojans anſwered, that neither Helen, nor her treaſures, were in their city. And indeed was it at all likely, ſays Herodotus, that Priam, who was ſo wiſe an old prince, ſhould chuſe to ſee his children and country deſtroyed before his eyes, rather than give the Greeks the juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction they deſired? But it was to no purpoſe for them to affirm with an oath, that Helen was not in their city; the Greeks, being firmly perſuaded that they were triſled with, perſiſted obſtinately in their unbelief. The deity, continues the ſame hiſtorian, being reſolved that the Trojans, by the total deſtruction of their city, ſhould teach the affrighted world this leſſon: * THAT GREAT CRIMES ARE ATTENDED WITH AS GREAT AND SIGNAL PUNISHMENTS FROM THE OFFENDED GODS. Menelaus, in his return from Troy, called at the court of king Proteus, who reſtored him Helen with all her treaſure. Herodotus proves, from ſome paſſages in Homer, that the voyage of Paris to Egypt was not unknown to this poet.

RHAMPSINITUS. The treaſury built by this king, who was the richeſt of all his predeceſſors, and his deſcent into hell, as they are related by † Herodotus, have ſo much the air of romance and fiction, that they deſerve no mention here.

Till the reign of this king, there had been ſome ſhadow, at leaſt, of juſtice and moderation in Egypt; but in the two following reigns, violence and cruelty uſurped their place.

* Ὡς τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαι εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν.

† Lib. ii. c. 121, 123.

* CHEOPS and CEPHRENUS. These two princes, who were truly brothers by the similitude of their manners, seem to have strove which of them should distinguish himself most, by a barefaced impiety towards the gods, and a barbarous inhumanity to men. Cheops reigned 50 years, and his brother Cephrenus 56 years after him. They kept the temples shut during the whole of their long reigns, and forbid the offering of sacrifices under the severest penalties. On the other hand, they oppressed their subjects by employing them in the most grievous and useless works, and sacrificed the lives of numberless multitudes of men, merely to gratify a senseless ambition of immortalizing their names, by edifices of an enormous magnitude, and a boundless expence. It is remarkable, that those stately pyramids, which have so long been the admiration of the whole world, were the effects of the irreligion and mercilefs cruelty of those princes.

† MYCERINUS. He was the son of Cheops, but of a character opposite to that of his father. So far from walking in his steps, he detested his conduct, and pursued quite different measures. He again opened the temples of the gods, restored the sacrifices, did all that lay in his power to comfort his subjects, and make them forget their past miseries; and believed himself set over them for no other purpose but to exercise justice, and to make them taste all the blessings of an equitable and peaceful administration. He heard their complaints, dried their tears, eased their misery, and thought himself not so much the master as the father of his people. This procured him the love of them all. Egypt resounded with his praises, and his name commanded veneration in all places.

One would naturally have concluded, that so prudent and humane a conduct must have drawn down on Mycerinus the protection of the gods. But it happened far otherwise. His misfortunes began from the death of a darling and only daughter, in whom his whole felicity consisted. He ordered extraordinary honours to be paid to her memory, which were still continued in Herodotus's time. This historian informs us, that, in the city of Sais, exquisite odours were burnt, in the daytime, at the tomb of this princess; and that it was illuminated with a lamp by night.

He was told by an oracle, that his reign would continue but seven years. And as he complained of this to the gods, in inquiring the reason, why so long and prosperous a reign had

* Herod. l. ii. c. 124. 128. Diod. l. i. p. 57. † Herod. l. ii. p. 139, 140. Diod. p. 58.

been

been indulged his father and uncle, who were equally cruel and impious; whilſt his own, which he had endeavoured ſo carefully to render as equitable and mild as it was poſſible for him to do, ſhould be ſo ſhort and unhappy; he was anſwered, that theſe were the very cauſes of it, it being the will of the gods to oppreſs and afflict Egypt, during the ſpace of 150 years, as a puniſhment for its crimes; and that his reign, which was appointed like thoſe of the preceding monarchs to be of 50 years continuance, was ſhortened on account of his too great lenity. Mycerinus likewiſe built a pyramid, but much inferior in dimenſions to that of his father.

* ASYCHIS. He enacted the law relating to loans, which forbid a ſon to borrow money, without giving the dead body of his father by way of ſecurity for it. The law added, that in caſe the ſon took no care to redeem his father's body, by reſtoring the loan, both himſelf and his children ſhould be deprived for ever of the rights of ſepulture.

He valued himſelf for having ſurpaſſed all his predeceſſors, by the building a pyramid of brick, more magnificent, if this king was to be credited, than any hitherto ſeen. The following inſcription, by its founder's order, was engraved upon it: COMPARE ME NOT WITH PYRAMIDS BUILT OF STONE; WHICH I AS MUCH EXCEL AS JUPITER DOES ALL THE OTHER GODS †.

If we ſuppoſe the ſix preceding reigns, the exact. duration of ſome of which is not fixed by Herodotus, to have continued 170 years, there will remain an interval of near 300 years, to the reign of Sabachus the Ethiopian. In this interval I ſhall place a few circumſtances related in holy ſcripture.

‡ PHAROAH, king of Egypt, gives his daughter in marriage to Solomon, king of Iſrael; who received her in that part of Jeruſalem called the city of David, till he had built her a palace.

SESACH or Shiſhak, otherwiſe called Seſonchis.

§ It was to him that Jeroboam fled, to avoid the wrath of Solomon, who intended to kill him. He abode in Egypt till Solomon's death, and then returned to Jeruſalem, when, putting himſelf at the head of the rebels, he won from Rehoboam,

* Herod. l. ii. c. 136.

† The remainder of the inſcription, as we find it in Herodotus, is: "for "men plunging long poles down to the bottom of the lake, drew bricks "(πλίνθες εἵλουσαν) out of the mud which ſtuck to them, and gave me "this form."

‡ A. M. 2991. Ant. J. C. 1013. 1 Kings iii. 1.

§ A. M. 3026. Ant. J. C. 978. 1 Kings xi. 40. and xii.

the

the ſon of Solomon, ten tribes, over whom he declared himſelf king.

This Seſach, in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, marched againſt Jeruſalem, becauſe the Jews had tranſgreſſed againſt the Lord. * He came with 1200 chariots of war, and 60,000 horſe. He had brought numberleſs multitudes of people, who were all † Libyans, Troglodytes, and Ethiopians. He ſeized upon all the ſtrongeſt cities of Judah, and advanced as far as Jeruſalem. Then the king, and the princes of Iſrael, having humbled themſelves, and aſked the protection of the God of Iſrael, he told them, by his prophet Shemaiah, that he would not, becauſe they had humbled themſelves, deſtroy them all, as they had deſerved; but that they ſhould be the ſervants of Seſach; in order "that they might know the difference "of his ſervice, and the ſervice of the kingdoms of the ‡ coun-"try." Seſach retired from Jeruſalem, after having plundered the treaſures of the houſe of the Lord, and of the king's houſe; he carried off every thing with him, "and even alſo "the 300 ſhields of gold which Solomon had made."

§ ZERAH, king of Ethiopia, and doubtleſs of Egypt at the ſame time, made war upon Aſa, king of Judah. His army conſiſted of a million of men, and three hundred chariots of war. Aſa marched againſt him, and drawing up his army in order of battle, in full reliance on the God whom he ſerved: "Lord," ſays he, "it is nothing for thee to help, whether "with many, or with them that have no power. Help us, O "Lord our God, for we reſt on thee, and in thy name we go "againſt this multitude; O Lord, thou art our God, let not "man prevail againſt thee." A prayer offered up with ſuch ſtrong faith was heard. God ſtruck the Ethiopians with terror; they fled, and all were irrecoverably defeated, being "de-"ſtroyed before the Lord, and before his hoſt."

‖ ANYSIS. He was blind, and under his reign

SABACHUS, king of Ethiopia, being encouraged by an oracle, entered Egypt with a numerous army, and poſſeſſed himſelf of it. He reigned with great clemency and juſtice. Inſtead of putting to death ſuch criminals as had been ſentenced to die by the judges, he made them repair the cauſeys, on which the reſpective cities, to which they belonged, were ſituated.

* A. M. 3033. Ant. J. C. 971. 2 Chron. xii. 1—9.

† The Engliſh verſion of the Bible ſays, The Lubims, the Sukkiims, and the Ethiopians

‡ Or, of the kingdoms of the earth.

§ A. M. 3063. Ant. J. C. 971. 2 Chron. xiv. 9—13.

‖ Herod. l. ii. c. 137. Diod. l. i. p. 59.

He

He built several magnificent temples, and, among the rest, one in the city of Bubaste, of which Herodotus gives a long and elegant description. After a reign of fifty years, which was the time appointed by the oracle, he retired voluntarily to his old kingdom of Ethiopia, and left the throne of Egypt to Anysis, who, during this time, had concealed himself in the fens. * It is believed that this Sabachus was the same with So, whose aid was implored by Hoshea, king of Israel, against Salmanaser, king of Assyria.

SETHON. He reigned fourteen years.

† He is the same with Sevechus, the son of Sabacon or Sual, the Ethiopian, who reigned so long over Egypt. This prince, so far from discharging the functions of a king, was ambitious of those of a priest; he causing himself to be consecrated high-priest of Vulcan. Abandoning himself entirely to superstition, he neglected to defend his kingdom by force of arms; paying no regard to military men, from a firm persuasion that he should never have occasion for their assistance; he therefore was so far from endeavouring to gain their affections, that he deprived them of their privileges, and even dispossessed them of such lands as his predecessors had given them.

He was soon made sensible of their resentment in a war that broke out suddenly, and from which he delivered himself solely by a miraculous protection, if Herodotus may be credited, who intermixes his account of this war with a great many fabulous particulars. Sennacherib (so Herodotus calls this prince), king of the Arabians and Assyrians, having entered Egypt with a numerous army, the Egyptian officers and soldiers refused to march against him. The high-priest of Vulcan, being thus reduced to the greatest extremity, had recourse to his god, who bid him not despond, but march courageously against the enemy with the few soldiers he could raise. Sethon obeyed the god. A small number of merchants, artificers, and others who were the dregs of the populace, joined him; and, with this handful of men, he marched to Pelusium, where Sennacherib had pitched his camp. The night following, a prodigious number of rats entered the enemy's camp, and gnawing to pieces all their bow-strings and the thongs of their shields, rendered them incapable of making the least defence. Being disarmed in this manner, they were obliged to fly; and they retreated with the loss of a great part of their forces. Sethon, when he returned home, ordered a statue of himself to

* A. M. 3279. Ant. J. C. 725. 2 Kings xvii. 4.
† A. M. 3285. Ant. J. C. 719.

be

be set up in the temple of Vulcan, holding in his right hand a rat, and these words issuing out of his mouth; LET THE MAN WHO BEHOLDS ME, LEARN TO REVERENCE THE GODS*.

It is very obvious that this story, as related here from Herodotus, is an alteration of that which is told in the second book of Kings. † We there see, that Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, having subdued all the neighbouring nations, and seized upon all the cities of Judah, resolved to besiege Hezekiah in Jerusalem his capital city. The ministers of this holy king, in spite of his opposition, and the remonstrances of the prophet Isaiah, who promised them, in God's name, a sure and certain protection, provided they would trust in him only, sent secretly to the Egyptians and Ethiopians for succour. Their armies being united, marched to the relief of Jerusalem at the time appointed, and were met and vanquished by the Assyrian in a pitched battle. He pursued them into Egypt, and entirely laid waste the country. At his return from thence, the very night before he was to have given a general assault to Jerusalem, which then seemed lost to all hopes, the destroying angel made dreadful havoc in the camp of the Assyrians; destroyed 185,000 men by fire and sword; and proved evidently, that they had great reason to rely, as Hezekiah had done, on the promise of the God of Israel.

This is the real fact. But as it was no ways honourable to the Egyptians, they endeavoured to turn it to their own advantage, by disguising and corrupting the circumstances of it. Nevertheless the footsteps of this history, though so much defaced, ought yet to be highly valued, as coming from an historian of so great antiquity and authority as Herodotus.

The prophet Isaiah had foretold, at several times, that this expedition of the Egyptians, which had been concerted seemingly with such prudence, conducted with the greatest skill, and in which the forces of two powerful empires were united, in order to relieve the Jews, would not only be of no service to Jerusalem, but even destructive to Egypt itself, whose strongest cities would be taken, and its inhabitants of all ages and sexes led into captivity. See the 18th, 19th, 20th, 30th, 31st, &c. chapters of the second book of Kings.

It was doubtless in this period, that the ruin of the famous city No-Amon ‡, spoken of by the prophet Nahum, happened.

* Ἐς ἐμέ τις ὁρέων, εὐσεβὴς ἔστω. † Chap. xviii.

‡ The Vulgate calls that city Alexandria, to which the Hebrew gives the name of No-Amon; because Alexandria was afterwards built in the place

ed. That prophet says, * that "she was carried away"—that "her young children were dashed in pieces at the top of all "the streets"—that the enemy "cast lots for her honourable "men, and" that "all her great men were bound in chains." He observes, that all these misfortunes befel that city, when Egypt and Ethiopia "were her strength;" which seems to refer clearly enough to the time of which we are here speaking, when Tharaca and Sethon had united their forces. However, this opinion is not without some difficulties, and is contradicted by some learned men. It suffices for me, to have hinted it to the reader.

† Till the reign of Sethon, the Egyptian priests computed 341 generations of men; which make 11,340 years, allowing three generations to 100 years. They counted the like number of priests and kings. The latter, whether gods or men, had succeeded one another without interruption, under the name of Piromis, an Egyptian word signifying good and virtuous. The Egyptian priests shewed Herodotus 341 wooden colossal statues of these Piromis, all ranged in order in a great hall. Such was the folly of the Egyptians, to lose themselves as it were in a remote antiquity, to which no other people pretended.

‡ THARACA. He it was who joined Sethon, with an Ethiopian army, to relieve Jerusalem. After the death of Sethon, who had sat fourteen years on the throne, Tharaca ascended it, and reigned eighteen years. He was the last Ethiopian king who reigned in Egypt.

After his death, the Egyptians, not being able to agree about the succession, were two years in a state of anarchy, during which there were great disorders and confusions among them.

TWELVE KINGS.

§ At last, twelve of the principal noblemen, conspiring together, seized upon the kingdom, and divided it into so many parts. It was agreed by them, that each should govern his own district with equal power and authority, and that no one

place where this stood. Dean Prideaux, after Bochart, thinks that it was Thebes, surnamed Diospolis. Indeed, the Egyption Amon is the same with Jupiter. But Thebes is not the place where Alexandria was since built. Perhaps there was another city there, which also was called No-Amon.

* Chap. iii. 8, 10. † Herod. l. ii. cap. 142. ‡ A. M. 3199. Ant. J. C. 705. Afric. apud Syncel. p. 74. § A. M. 3319. Ant. J. C. 685. Herod. l. ii. cap. 147, 152. Diod. l. i. p. 59.

should

ſhould attempt to invade or ſeize the dominions of another. They thought it neceſſary to make this agreement, and to bind it with the moſt dreadful oaths, to elude the predictions of an oracle, which had foretold, that he among them who ſhould offer his libation to Vulcan out of a brazen bowl ſhould gain the ſovereignty of Egypt. They reigned together fifteen years in the utmoſt harmony: and, to leave a famous monument of their concord to poſterity, they jointly, and at a common expence, built the famous labyrinth, which was a pile of building conſiſting of twelve large palaces, with as many edifices under ground as appeared above it. I have ſpoke elſewhere of this labyrinth.

One day, as the twelve kings were aſſiſting at a ſolemn and periodical ſacrifice offered in the temple of Vulcan, the prieſts, having preſented each of them a golden bowl for the libation, one was wanting; when *Pſammetichus, without any deſign, ſupplied the want of this bowl with his brazen helmet, for each wore one, and with it performed the ceremony of the libation. This accident ſtruck the reſt of the kings, and recalled to their memory the prediction of the oracle above-mentioned. They thought it therefore neceſſary to ſecure themſelves from his attempts, and therefore, with one conſent, baniſhed him into the ſenny parts of Egypt.

After Pſammetichus had paſſed ſome years there, waiting a favourable opportunity to revenge himſelf for the affront which had been put upon him, a courier brought him advice that brazen men were landed in Egypt. Theſe were Grecian ſoldiers, Carians and Ionians, who had been caſt upon Egypt by a ſtorm, and were completely covered with helmets, cuiraſſes, and other arms of braſs. Pſammetichus immediately called to mind the oracle, which had anſwered him, that he ſhould be ſuccoured by brazen men from the ſea-coaſt. He did not doubt but the prediction was now fulfilled. He therefore made a league with theſe ſtrangers; engaged them with great promiſes to ſtay with him; privately levied other forces; put theſe Greeks at their head; when giving battle to the eleven kings, he defeated them, and remained ſole poſſeſſor of Egypt.

PSAMMETICHUS. †As this prince owed his preſervation to the Ionians and Carians, he ſettled them in Egypt, from which all foreigners hitherto had been excluded; and, by aſſigning them ſufficient lands and fixed revenues, he made them

* He was one of the twelve.

† A. M. 3334. Ant. J. C. 670. Herod. l. ii. c. 153, 154.

forget

forget their native country. By his order Egyptian children were put under their care to learn the Greek tongue; and on this occasion, by this means, the Egyptians began to have a correspondence with the Greeks; and from that era, the Egyptian history, which till then had been intermixed with pompous fables, by the artifice of the priests, begins, according to Herodotus, to speak with greater truth and certainty.

As soon as Psammetichus was settled on the throne, he engaged in war against the king of Assyria, on account of the limits of the two empires. This war was of long continuance. Every since Syria had been conquered by the Assyrians, Palestine, being the only country that separated the two kingdoms, was the subject of continual discord; as afterwards between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ. They were eternally contending for it, and it was alternately won by the stronger. Psammetichus, seeing himself the peaceable possessor of all Egypt, and having restored the ancient form of government*, thought it high time for him to look to his frontiers, and to secure them against the Assyrian, his neighbour, whose power increased daily. For this purpose he entered Palestine at the head of an army.

Perhaps we are to refer to the beginning of this war, an incident related by † Diodorus: that the Egyptians, provoked to see the Greeks posted on the right wing by the king himself, in preference to them, quitted the service, they being upwards of 200,000 men, and retired into Ethiopia, where they met with an advantageous settlement.

‡ Be that as it will, Psammetichus entered Palestine, where his career was stopped by Azotus, one of the principal cities of the country, which gave him so much trouble, that he was forced to besiege it 29 years, before he could take it. This is the longest siege mentioned in ancient history.

This was anciently one of the five capital cities of the Philistines. The Egyptians, having seized it some time before, had fortified it with such care, that it was their strongest bulwark on that side. Nor could Sennacharib enter Egypt, till he had first made himself master of this city, which was taken by Tartan, one of his generals. § The Assyrians had possessed it hitherto; and it was not till after the long siege just now mentioned, that Egypt recovered it.

* This revolution happened about seven years after the captivity of Manasseh king of Judah.

† Lib. i. p. 61. ‡ Diod. c. 157.

§ Isa. xx. 1. Herod. l. i. c. 105.

In this period, the Scythians, leaving the banks of the Palus Mæotis, made an inroad into Media, defeated Cyaxares the king of that country, and laid waſte all Upper Aſia, of which they kept poſſeſſion during 28 years. They puſhed their conqueſts in Syria, as far as to the frontiers of Egypt. But Pſammetichus marching out to meet them, prevailed ſo far, by his preſents and intreaties, that they advanced no farther; and by that means delivered his kingdom from theſe dangerous enemies.

*Till his reign, the Egyptians had imagined themſelves to be the moſt ancient nation upon earth. Pſammetichus was deſirous to prove this himſelf, and he employed a very extraordinary experiment for this purpoſe: he commanded (if we may credit the relation) two children, newly born, of poor parents, to be brought up, in the country, in a hovel, that was to be kept continually ſhut. They were committed to the care of a ſhepherd, (others ſay, of nurſes, whoſe tongues were cut out), who was to feed them with the milk of goats; and was commanded not to ſuffer any perſon to enter into this hut, nor himſelf to ſpeak even a ſingle word in the hearing of theſe children. At the expiration of two years, as the ſhepherd was one day coming into the hut to feed theſe children, they both cried out, with hands extended towards their foſter-father, "Beckos, beckos." The ſhepherd ſurpriſed to hear a language that was quite new to him, but which they repeated frequently afterwards, ſent advice of this to the king, who ordered the children to be brought before him, in order that he himſelf might be witneſs to the truth of what was told him; and accordingly both of them began, in his preſence, to ſtammer out the ſounds above-mentioned. Nothing was now wanting but to inquire what nation it was that uſed this word; and it was found, that the Phrygians called bread by this name. From this time they were allowed the honour of antiquity, or rather of priority, which the Egyptians themſelves, notwithſtanding their jealouſy of it, and the many ages they had poſſeſſed this glory, were obliged to reſign to them. As goats were brought to theſe children, in order that they might feed upon their milk, and hiſtorians do not ſay that they were deaf, ſome are of opinion, that they might have learnt the word *bek* or *bekkos*, by mimicking the cry of thoſe creatures.

Pſammetichus died in the 24th year of Joſias, king of Judah, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Nechao.

* Herod. l. ii. c. 2, 3.

NECHAO.

*Necho. †This prince is often called in ſcripture Pharaoh-Necho.

He attempted to join the Nile to the Red Sea, by cutting a canal from the one to the other. They are ſeparated at the diſtance of at leaſt a thouſand ſtadia‡. After 120,000 workmen had loſt their lives in this attempt, Nechao was obliged to deſiſt; the oracle which had been conſulted by him having anſwered, that this new canal would open a paſſage to the Barbarians (for ſo the Egyptians called all other nations), to invade Egypt.

§Nechao was more ſucceſsful in another enterpriſe. Skilful Phœnician mariners, whom he had taken into his ſervice, having ſailed out of the Red Sea to diſcover the coaſts of Africa, went ſucceſsfully round them; and the third year after their ſetting out, returned to Egypt through the Straits of Gibraltar. This was a very extraordinary voyage, in an age when the compaſs was not known. It was made 21 centuries before Vaſco de Gama, a Portugueſe, by diſcovering the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1497, found out the very ſame way to ſail to the Indies, by which theſe Phœnicians had come from thence to the Mediterranean.

‖The Babylonians and Medes having deſtroyed Nineveh, and with it the empire of the Aſſyrians, were thereby become ſo formidable, that they drew upon themſelves the jealouſy of all their neighbours. Nechao, alarmed at the danger, advanced to the Euphrates, at the head of a powerful army, in order to check their progreſs. Joſiah, king of Judah, ſo famous for his uncommon piety, obſerving that he took his route through Judea, reſolved to oppoſe his paſſage. With this view, he raiſed all the forces of his kingdom, and poſted himſelf in the valley of Megiddo, a city on this ſide Jordan, belonging to the tribe of Manaſſah, and called Magdolus by Herodotus. Nechao informed him by a herald, that his enterpriſe was not deſigned againſt him; that he had other enemies in view, and that he had undertook this war in the name of God, who was with him; that for this reaſon he adviſed Joſiah not to con-

* He is called Necho in the Engliſh verſion of the ſcriptures.

† A.M. 3388. Ant. J. C. 616. Herod. l. i. c. 158.

‡ Allowing 625 feet, or 125 geometrical paces, to each ſtadium, the diſtance will be 118 Engliſh miles, and a little above one-third of a mile. Herodotus ſays, that this deſign was afterwards put in execution by Darius the Perſian. L. ii. c. 158.

§ Herod. l. iv c. 42.

‖ Joſeph. Antiq. l. x. c. 6. 2 Kings xxiii. 29, 30. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20—25.

cern himself with this war, for fear lest it otherwise should turn to his disadvantage. However, Josiah was not moved by these reasons: he was sensible that the bare march of so powerful an army through Judea would entirely ruin it; and besides, he feared that the victor, after the defeat of the Babylonians, would fall upon him, and dispossess him of part of his dominions. He therefore marched to engage Nechao; and was not only overthrown by him, but unfortunately received a wound, of which he died at Jerusalem, whither he had ordered himself to be carried.

Nechao, animated by this victory, continued his march, and advanced towards the Euphrates. He defeated the Babylonians; took Carchemish, a large city in that country; and securing to himself the possession of it by a strong garrison, returned to his own kingdom, after having been absent three months from it.

* Being informed in his march homeward, that Jehoahaz had caused himself to be proclaimed king at Jerusalem, without first asking his consent, he commanded him to meet him at Riblah in Syria. The unhappy prince was no sooner arrived there, but he was put in chains by Nechao's order, and sent prisoner to Egypt, where he died. From thence pursuing his march, he came to Jerusalem, where he gave the sceptre to Eliakim, called by him Jehoiakim, another of Josiah's sons, in the room of his brother; and imposed an annual tribute on the land, of an hundred talents of silver, and one talent of gold†. This being done, he returned in triumph to Egypt.

‡ Herodotus, mentioning this king's expedition, and the victory gained by him at § Magdolus (as he calls it), says, that he afterwards took the city Cadytis, which he represents as situated in the mountains of Palestine, and equal in extent to Sardis, the capital at that time not only of Lydia, but of all Asia Minor. This description can suit only Jerusalem, which was situated in the manner above described, and was then the only city in those parts that could be compared to Sardis. It appears, besides, from scripture, that Nechao, after his victory,

* 2 Kings xxiii. 33. 35. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1. 4.

† The Hebrew silver talent, according to Dr. Cumberland, is equivalent to L.353. 11s. 10½d. So that 100 talents English money, make L.35,359 7 6
The gold talent, according to the same, 5,075 15 7½

The amount of the whole tribute, L.40,435 3 1½

‡ Lib. ii. c. 159. § Megiddo.

won

won this capital of Judea; for he was there in perſon, when he gave the crown to Jehoiakim. The very name Cadytis, which in Hebrew ſignifies the Holy, points clearly to the city of Jeruſalem, as is proved by the learned Dean Prideaux*.

† Nabopolaſſer, king of Babylon, obſerving that ſince the taking of Carchemiſh by Nechao, all Syria and Paleſtine had ſhaken off their allegiance to him, and that his years and infirmities would not permit him to march againſt the rebels in perſon, he therefore aſſociated his ſon Nabuchodonoſor, or Nebuchadnezzar, with him in the empire, and ſent him at the head of an army into thoſe countries. ‡ This young prince vanquiſhed the army of Nechao near the river Euphrates, recovered Carchemiſh, and reduced the revolted provinces to their allegiance, as § Jeremiah had foretold. Thus he diſpoſſeſſed the Egyptians of all that belonged to them, from the ‖ little ** river of Egypt to the Euphrates, which comprehended all Syria and Paleſtine.

Nechao dying after he had reigned 16 years, left the kingdom to his ſon.

PSAMMIS. †† His reign was but of ſix years, and hiſtory has left us nothing memorable concerning him, except that he made an expedition into Ethiopia.

It was to this prince that the Eleans ſent a ſplendid embaſſy, after having inſtituted the Olympic games. They had eſtabliſhed the whole with ſuch care, and made ſuch excellent re-

* From the time that Solomon, by means of his temple, had made Jeruſalem the common place of worſhip to all Iſrael, it was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the cities by the epithet Holy; and in the Old Teſtament was called Air Hakkodiſh, *i. e.* the city of holineſs, or the holy city. It bore this title upon the coins, and the ſhekel was inſcribed Jeruſalem Keduſha, *i. e.* Jeruſalem the holy. At length Jeruſalem, for brevity's ſake, was omitted, and only Keduſha reſerved. The Syriac being the prevailing language in Herodotus's time, Keduſha, by a change in that dialect of *ſh* into *th*, was made Kedutha; and Herodotus giving it a Greek termination, it was writ Κάδυτις, or Cadytis. Prideaux's Connexion of the Old and New Teſtament, vol. i. part i. p. 80, 81. 8vo edit.

† A. M. 3397. Ant. J. C. 607. ‡ Jer. xlvi. 2, &c.

§ 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

‖ This little river of Egypt, ſo often mentioned in ſcripture as the boundary of Paleſtine towards Egypt, was not the Nile, but a ſmall river, which, running through the deſert that lay betwixt thoſe two nations, was anciently the common boundary of both. So far the land, which had been promiſed to the poſterity of Abraham, and divided among them by lot, extended.

** A rivo Egypti.

†† A. M. 3404. Ant. J. C. 600. Herod. l. ii. c. 160.

gulations, that, in their opinion, nothing seemed wanting to their perfection, and envy itself could not find any fault with them. * However, they did not desire so much to have the opinion, as to gain the approbation of the Egyptians, who were looked upon as the wisest and most judicious people in the world. Accordingly the king assembled the sages of his nation. After all things had been heard, which could be said in favour of the institution, the Eleans were asked, if the citizens and foreigners were admitted indifferently to these games; to which answer was made, that they were open to every one. To this the Egyptian replied, that the rules of justice would have been more strictly observed, had foreigners only been admitted to these combats; because it was very difficult for the judges, in their award of the victory and the prize, not to be prejudiced in favour of their fellow-citizens.

APRIES. †In scripture he is called Pharaoh-Hophrah; and, succeeding his father Psammis, reigned 25 years.

During the first years of his reign, he was as happy as any of his predecessors. He carried his arms into Cyprus; besieged the city of Sidon by sea and land; took it, and made himself master of all Phœnicia and Palestine.

So rapid a success elated his heart to a prodigious degree, and, as Herodotus informs us, swelled him with so much pride and infatuation, that he boasted, it was not in the power of the gods themselves to dethrone him; so great was the idea he had formed to himself of the firm establishment of his own power. It was with a view to these arrogant conceits, that Ezekiel put the vain and impious words following into his mouth: "‡My river is mine own, and I have made it for my-"self." But the true God proved to him afterwards that he had a master, and that he was a mere man; and he had threatened him long before, by his prophets, with all the calamities he was resolved to bring upon him, in order to punish him for his pride.

A little after Hophrah had ascended the throne, Zedekiah§, king of Judah, sent an embassy, and concluded a mutual alliance with him; and the year following, breaking the oath of fidelity he had taken to the king of Babylon, he rebelled openly against him.

Notwithstanding God had so often forbid his people to have recourse to Egypt, or put any confidence in the people of it,

* C. 160. † A. M. 3410. Ant. J. C. 594. Jer. xliv. 30. Herod. l. ii. c. 161. Diod. l. ii. p. 74. ‡ Ezek. xxix. 3.
§ Chap. xvii. 15.

notwithstanding

notwithſtanding the repeated calamities in which they had been involved, for their having relied on the Egyptians, they ſtill thought this nation their moſt ſure refuge in danger; and accordingly could not forbear applying to it. This they had already done in the reign of the holy king Hezekiah; and which gave occaſion to God's meſſage to his people, by the mouth of his prophet Iſaiah. "*Wo to them that go down to Egypt "for help, and ſtay on horſes, and truſt in chariots, becauſe "they are many; but they look not unto the holy One of Iſ- "rael, neither ſeek the Lord. The Egyptians are men, and "not God; and their horſes are fleſh, and not ſpirit: when "the Lord ſhall ſtretch out his hand, both he that helpeth "ſhall fall, and he that is holpen ſhall fall down, and they "ſhall fail together." But neither the prophet nor the king were heard; and nothing but the moſt fatal experience could open their eyes, and make them ſee evidently the truth of God's threatenings.

The Jews behaved in the very ſame manner on this occaſion. Zedekiah, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of Jeremiah to the contrary, reſolved to conclude an alliance with the Egyptian monarch, who, puffed up with the ſucceſs of his arms, and confident that nothing could reſiſt his power, declared himſelf the protector of Iſrael, and promiſed to deliver it from the tyranny of Nabuchodonoſor. But God, offended that a mortal had thus dared to intrude himſelf into his place, expreſſed his mind to another prophet as follows. "† Son of man, ſet thy "face againſt Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and propheſy againſt "him, and againſt all Egypt. Speak and ſay, Thus ſaith the "Lord God, Behold, I am againſt thee, Pharaoh, king of "Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midſt of his rivers, "which hath ſaid, My river is mine own, and I have made it "for myſelf. But I will put hooks in thy jaws," &c. God, after comparing him to a reed, which breaks under the man who leans upon it, and wounds his hand, adds, "‡ Behold, I "will bring a ſword upon thee, and cut off man and beaſt out "of thee. And the land of Egypt ſhall be deſolate, and they "ſhall know that I am the Lord; becauſe he hath ſaid, The "river is mine, and I have made it." The § ſame prophet, in ſeveral ſucceeding chapters, continues to foretel the calamities with which Egypt was going to be overwhelmed.

Zedekiah was far from giving credit to theſe predictions.

* Chap. xxxi. 1. 3. † Ezek. xxix. 2, 3, 4. ‡ Chap. xxix. 8, 9.
§ Chap. xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii.

When

When he heard of the approach of the Egyptian army, and saw Nabuchodonosor raise the siege of Jerusalem, he fancied that his deliverance was completed, and anticipated a triumph. His joy, however, was but of short duration; for the Egyptians seeing the Chaldeans advancing forward again, did not dare to encounter so numerous and well-disciplined an army. *They therefore marched back into their own country, and left the unfortunate Zedekiah exposed to all the dangers of war in which they themselves had involved him. Nabuchodonosor again sat down before Jerusalem; took and burnt it, as Jeremiah had prophesied.

† Many years after, the chastisements with which God had threatened Apries (Pharaoh-Hophrah) began to fall upon him: for the Cyrenians, a Greek colony which had settled in Africa, between Libya and Egypt, having seized upon and divided among themselves a great part of the country belonging to the Libyans, forced these nations, who were thus dispossessed by violence, to throw themselves into the arms of this prince, and implore his protection. Immediately Apries sent a mighty army into Libya, to oppose the Cyrenian Greeks; but this army being entirely defeated and almost cut to pieces, the Egyptians imagined that Apries had sent it into Libya, only to get it destroyed, and by that means, to attain the power of governing his subjects without check or controul. This reflection prompted the Egyptians to shake off the yoke which had been laid on them by their prince, whom they now considered as their enemy. But Apries, hearing of the rebellion, dispatched Amasis, one of his officers, to suppress it, and force the rebels to return to their allegiance. But the moment Amasis began to make his speech, they fixed a helmet upon his head, in token of the exalted dignity to which they intended to raise him, and proclaimed him king. Amasis, having accepted the crown, staid with the mutineers, and confirmed them in their rebellion.

Apries, more exasperated than ever at this news, sent Paterbemis, another of his great officers, and one of the principal lords of his court, to put Amasis under an arrest, and bring him before him: but Paterbemis not being able to execute his commands, and bring away the rebel, as he was surrounded with the instruments of his treachery, was treated by Aries at his return in the most ignominious and inhuman manner; for his nose and ears were cut off by the command of that prince,

* A. M. 3416. Ant. J. C. 588. Jer. xxxvii. 6, 7.

† A. M. 3430. Ant J. 574. Herod. l. ii. c. 161, &c. Diod. l. i. p. 62.

who

who never conſidered that only his want of power had prevented his executing his commiſſion. So bloody an outrage, done to a perſon of ſuch high diſtinction, exaſperated the Egyptians ſo much, that the greateſt number of them joined the rebels, and the inſurrection became general. Aries was now forced to retire into Upper Egypt, where he ſupported himſelf ſome years, during which Amaſis enjoyed the reſt of his dominions.

The troubles which thus diſtracted Egypt, afforded Nebuchadnezzar a favourable opportunity to invade that kingdom, and it was God himſelf inſpired him with the reſolution. This prince, who was the inſtrument of God's wrath, though he did not know himſelf to be ſo, againſt a people whom he was reſolved to chaſtiſe, had juſt before taken Tyre, where himſelf and his army had laboured under incredible difficulties. To recompenſe their toils, God abandoned Egypt to their arms. It is wonderful to hear the Creator himſelf delivering his thoughts on this ſubject. There are few paſſages in ſcripture more remarkable than this, or which give a ſtronger idea of the ſupreme authority which God exerciſes over all the princes and kingdoms of the earth. "* Son of man," ſays the Almighty to his prophet Ezekiel, "Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, "cauſed his army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt Tyre: every "head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was peeled†: yet "had he no wages, nor his army, for Tyrus, ‡for the ſervice "that he had ſerved againſt it. Therefore thus ſaith the Lord "God, Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebu"chadnezzer, king of Babylon, and he ſhall take her multitude, "and take her ſpoil, and take her prey, and it ſhall be the "wages for his army. I have given him the land of Egypt "for his labour wherewith he ſerved againſt it, becauſe they "wrought for me, ſaith the Lord God." Says another prophet,

* Chap. xxix. 18, 19, 20.

† The baldneſs of the heads of the Babylonians was owing to the preſſure of their helmets; and their peeled ſhoulders to their carrying baſkets of earth, and large pieces of timber, to join Tyre to the continent. Baldneſs was itſelf a badge of ſlavery; and, joined to the peeled ſhoulders, ſhows that the conqueror's army ſuſtained even the moſt ſervile labours in this memorable ſiege.

‡ For the better underſtanding of this paſſage, we are to know, that Nabuchodonoſor ſuſtained incredible hardſhips at the ſiege of Tyre; and that when the Tyrians ſaw themſelves cloſely attacked, the nobles conveyed themſelves, and their richeſt effects, on ſhip-board, and retired into other iſlands: ſo that when Nabuchodonoſor took the city, he found nothing to recompenſe his loſſes, and the troubles he had undergone in this ſiege. S. Hieron.

"He

" * He ſhall array himſelf with the land of Egypt, as a ſhepherd " putteth on his garment; and he ſhall go forth from thence " in peace." Thus ſhall he load himſelf with booty, and thus cover his own ſhoulders, and thoſe of his fold, with all the ſpoils of Egypt. Noble expreſſions! which ſhow the prodigious eaſe with which all the power and riches of a kingdom are carried away, when God appoints the revolution; and ſhift, like a garment, to a new owner, who has no more to do but to take it, and clothe himſelf with it.

The king of Babylon taking advantage, therefore, of the inteſtine diviſions which the rebellion of Amaſis had occaſioned in that kingdom, marched thither at the head of his army. He ſubdued Egypt from Migdol, or Magdol, a town on the frontiers of it, as far as Syene, in the oppoſite extremity where it borders on Ethiopia. He made a horrible devaſtation wherever he came; killed a great number of the inhabitants, and made ſuch dreadful havoc in the country, that the damage could not be repaired in forty years. Nabuchodonoſor, having loaded his army with ſpoils, and conquered the whole kingdom, came to an accommodation with Amaſis; and, leaving him as his viceroy there, returned to Babylon.

†Apries (Pharaoh-Hophrah) now leaving the place where he had concealed himſelf, advanced towards the ſea-coaſt, probably towards Libya, and hiring an army of Carians, Ionians, and other foreigners, he marched againſt Amaſis, whom he fought near Memphis; but being overcome, Apries was taken priſoner, carried to the city of Sais, and there ſtrangled in his own palace.

The Almighty had given, by the mouth of his prophets, an aſtoniſhing relation of the ſeveral circumſtances of this mighty event. It was he who had broke the power of Apries, which was once ſo formidable, and put the ſword into the hand of Nabuchodonoſor, in order that he might chaſtiſe and humble that haughty prince. ‡I am," ſaid he, " againſt Pharaoh, " king of Egypt, and will break his arms which were ſtrong, " but now are broken, and I will cauſe the ſword to fall out " of his hand.—§ But I will ſtrengthen the arms of the king " of Babylon, and put my ſword into his hand.—‖ And they " ſhall know that I am the Lord."

He enumerates the towns which were to fall a prey to the

* Jerem. xliii. 12. † Herod. l. ii. c. 163. 169. Diod. l. i. p. 72.
‡ Ezek. xxx. 22. § Ver. 24. ‖ Ver. 25.

victors;

victors; * Pathros, Zoan, No (called in the vulgate Alexandria), Sin, Aven, Phibeſeth, &c†.

He takes notice particularly of the unhappy end to which the captive king ſhould come. "‡ Thus ſaith the Lord, Be- "hold I will give Pharaoh-Hophrah, the king of Egypt, into "the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that ſeek "his life."

Laſtly, he declares, that during forty years the Egyptians ſhall be oppreſſed with every ſpecies of calamity, and be reduced to ſo deplorable a ſtate, "§ That there ſhould be no more "a prince of the land of Egypt." The event verified this prophecy. Soon after the expiration of theſe forty years, Egypt was made a province of the Perſian empire, and has been governed ever ſince by foreigners. For ſince the ruin of the Perſian monarchy, it has been ſubject ſucceſſively to the Macedonians, the Romans, the Saracens, the Mamalukes, and laſtly to the Turks, who poſſeſs it at this day.

|| God was not leſs punctual in the accompliſhment of his prophecies, with regard to ſuch of his own people, as had retired, contrary to his prohibition, into Egypt, after the taking of Jeruſalem, and forced Jeremiah along with them. The inſtant they had reached Egypt, and were arrived at Taphnis, or Tanis, the prophet, after having hid in their preſence, by God's command, ſtones in a grotto, which was near the king's palace, he declared to them, that Nabuchodonoſor ſhould ſoon arrive in Egypt, and that God would eſtabliſh his throne in that very place; that this prince would lay waſte the whole kingdom, and carry fire and ſword into all places; that themſelves ſhould fall into the hand of theſe cruel enemies, when one part of them ſhould be maſſacred, and the reſt led captive to Babylon; that only a very ſmall number ſhould eſcape the common deſolation, and be at laſt reſtored to their country. All theſe prophecies had their accompliſhment in the appointed time.

** Amasis. After the death of Apries, Amaſis became peaceable poſſeſſor of Egypt, and reigned forty years over it. He was, according to †† Plato, a native of the city of Sais.

* Ezek. xxx. 14. 17.

† I have given the names of theſe towns as they ſtand in our Engliſh verſion. In the margin are printed, againſt Zoan, Tanis; againſt Sion, Peluſium: againſt Aven, Heliopolis; againſt Phibeſeth, Pubaſtum, Bubaſte; and by theſe laſt names they are mentioned in the original.

‡ Jerem. xliv. 30. § Ezek. xxx. 13. || Jerem. xliii. xliv.

** A. M. 3435. Ant. J. C. 569. †† In Tim.

As

* As he was but of mean extraction, he met with no reſpect, but was only contemned by his ſubjects in the beginning of his reign: he was not inſenſible of this; but nevertheleſs thought it his intereſt to ſubdue their tempers by an artful carriage, and win their affection by gentleneſs and reaſon. He had a golden ciſtern, in which himſelf, and thoſe perſons who were admitted to his table, uſed to waſh their feet: he melted it down, and had it caſt into a ſtatue, and then expoſed the new god to public worſhip. The people haſted in crowds to pay their adoration to the ſtatue. The king, having aſſembled the people, informed them of the vile uſes to which this ſtatue had once been put, which nevertheleſs had now their religious proſtrations: the application was eaſy, and had the deſired ſucceſs; the people thenceforward paid the king all the reſpect that is due to majeſty.

† He always uſed to devote the whole morning to public affairs, in order to receive petitions, give audience, pronounce ſentence, and hold his councils: the reſt of the day was given to pleaſure; and as Amaſis, in hours of diverſion, was extremely gay, and ſeemed to carry his mirth beyond due bounds, his courtiers took the liberty to repreſent to him the unſuitableneſs of ſuch a behaviour; when he anſwered, that it was as impoſſible for the mind to be always ſerious and intent upon buſineſs, as for a bow to continue always bent.

It was this king who obliged the inhabitants of every town, to enter their names in a book kept by the magiſtrate for that purpoſe, with their profeſſion, and manner of living. Solon inſerted this cuſtom among his laws.

He built many magnificent temples, eſpecially at Sais, the place of his birth. Herodotus admired eſpecially a chapel there, formed of one ſingle ſtone, and which was 21 cubits ‡ in front, fourteen in depth, and eight in height; its dimenſions within were not quite ſo large. It had been brought from Elephantina, and 2000 men were employed three years in conveying it along the Nile.

Amaſis had a great eſteem for the Greeks. He granted them large privileges, and permitted ſuch of them as were deſirous of ſettling in Egypt, to live in the city of Naucratis, ſo famous for its harbour. When the rebuilding of the temple of Delphi, which had been burnt, was debated on, and the expence was computed at 300 talents §, Amaſis furniſhed the Delphians with a very conſiderable ſum towards diſcharging their

* Herod. l. ii. c. 172. † Ibid. c. 73.
‡ The cubit is one foot and almoſt ten inches. Vide ſupra.
§ Or, L.58,125 Sterling.

quota,

quota, which was the fourth part of the whole charge. He made an alliance with the Cyrenians, and married a wife from among them. He is the only king of Egypt who conquered the iſland of Cyprus, and made it tributary.

Under his reign Pythagoras came into Egypt, being recommended to that monarch by the famous Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who had contracted a friendſhip with Amaſis, and will be mentioned hereafter. Pythagoras, during his ſtay in Egypt, was initiated in all the myſteries of the country, and inſtructed by the prieſts in whatever was moſt abſtruſe and important in their religion. It was here he imbibed his doctrine of the Metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls.

In the expedition in which Cyrus conquered ſo great a part of the world, Egypt doubtleſs was ſubdued like the reſt of the provinces; and Xenophon declares this in the beginning of his Cyropædia, or inſtitutions of that prince *. Probably, after that the 40 years of deſolation which had been propheſied by the prophet were expired, Egypt beginning gradually to recover itſelf, Amaſis ſhook off the yoke, and recovered his liberty.

Accordingly we find, that one of the firſt cares of Cambyſes, the ſon of Cyrus, after he had aſcended the throne, was to carry his arms into Egypt. On his arrival there, Amaſis was juſt dead, and ſucceeded by his ſon Pſammenitus.

† PSAMMENITUS. Cambyſes, after having gained a battle, purſued the enemy to Memphis; beſieged the city, and ſoon took it: however, he treated the king with clemency, granted him his life, and aſſigned him an honourable penſion; but being informed that he was ſecretly concerting meaſures to reaſcend his throne, he put him to death. Pſammenitus reigned but ſix months: all Egypt ſubmitted immediately to the victor. The particulars of this hiſtory will be related more at large, when I come to that of Cambyſes.

Here ends the ſucceſſion of the Egyptian kings. From this era the hiſtory of this nation, as was before obſerved, will be blended with that of the Perſians and Greeks, till the death of Alexander. At that period, a new monarchy will ariſe in Egypt, founded by Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, which will continue to Cleopatra, that is, for about 300 years. I ſhall treat each of theſe ſubjects, in the ſeveral periods to which they belong.

* Ἐπῆρξε δὲ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλατταν, καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων, p. 5. Edit. Hutchinſoni.

† A. M. 3479. Ant. J. C. 525.

BOOK SECOND.

THE HISTORY OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

PLAN.

I SHALL divide the following history of the Carthaginians into two parts. In the first, I shall give a general idea of the manners of that people, their character, government, religion, power, and riches. In the second, after relating, in a few words, by what steps Carthage established and enlarged its power, I shall give an account of the wars by which it became so famous.

PART FIRST.

Character, Manners, Religion, and Government of the Carthaginians.

SECTION I.

CARTHAGE FORMED AFTER THE MODEL OF TYRE, OF WHICH THAT CITY WAS A COLONY.

THE Carthaginians were indebted to the Tyrians, not only for their origin, but their manners, language, customs, laws, religion, and their great application to commerce, as will appear from every part of the sequel. They spoke the same language with the Tyrians, and these the same with the Canaanites and Israelites, that is, the Hebrew tongue, or at least a language which was entirely derived from it. Their names had commonly some particular meaning: * thus, Hanno signified gracious, bountiful; Dido, amiable or well beloved; Sophonisba, one who keeps faithfully her husband's secrets. From a spirit of religion, they likewise joined the name of God to their own, conformably to the genius of the Hebrews. Hannibal, which answers to Ananias, signifies Baal (or the Lord) has been gracious to me. Asdrubal, answering to Azarias, implies, The Lord will be our succour. It is the same with other names, Adherbal, Maharbal, Mastanabal, &c. The word Pœni, from which Punic is derived, is the same with Phœni or Phœnicians, because they came originally from Phœnicia. In the Pœnulus

* Bochart. Part II. l. ii. c. 16.

of

of Plautus, is a ſcene written in the Punic tongue, which has very much exerciſed the learned *.

But the ſtrict union which always ſubſiſted between the Phœnicians and Carthaginians is ſtill more remarkable. † When Cambyſes had reſolved to make war upon the latter, the Phœnicians, who formed the chief ſtrength of his fleet, told him plainly, that they could not ſerve him againſt their countrymen; and this declaration obliged that prince to lay aſide his deſign. The Carthaginians, on their ſide, were never forgetful of the country from whence they came, and to which they owed their origin. ‡ They ſent regularly every year to Tyre, a ſhip freighted with preſents, as a quit-rent or acknowledgment paid to their ancient country; and its tutelar gods had an annual ſacrifice offered to them by the Carthaginians, who conſidered them as their protectors. They never failed to ſend thither the firſt fruits of their revenues; nor the tithe of the ſpoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to Hercules, one of the principal gods of Tyre and Carthage. The Tyrians, to ſecure from Alexander, who was then beſieging their city, what they valued above all things, I mean their wives and children, ſent them to Carthage, where, at a time that the inhabitants of the latter were involved in a furious war, they were received and entertained with ſuch a kindneſs and generoſity as might be expected from the moſt tender and opulent parents. Such uninterrupted teſtimonies of a warm and ſincere gratitude do a nation more honour, than the greateſt conqueſts, and the moſt glorious victories.

SECTION II.

The Religion of the Carthaginians.

It appears from ſeveral paſſages of the hiſtory of Carthage, that its generals looked upon it as an indiſpenſable duty, to begin and end all their enterprizes with the worſhip of the gods. § Hamilcar, father of the great Hannibal, before he entered Spain in an hoſtile manner, offered up a ſacrifice to the gods; and his ſon treading in his ſteps, before he left Spain, and marched againſt Rome, went to Cadiz in order to pay the vows he made to Hercules, and to offer up new ones, in caſe that god ſhould be propitious to him. ‖ After the battle of

* The firſt ſcene of the fifth act, tranſlated into Latin by Petit, in the ſecond book of his Miſcellanies.

† Herod. l. iii. c. 17—19. ‡ Polyb. 944. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 2, 3.
§ Liv. l. xxi. n. 1. Ibid. n. 21. ‖ Liv. l. xxiii. n. 11.

Cannæ, when he acquainted the Carthaginians with the joyful news, he recommended to them, above all things, the offering up a thankſgiving to the immortal gods, for the ſeveral victories he had obtained. *Pro his tantis totque victoriis verum eſſe grates diis immortalibus agi haberique.*

Nor was this religious honouring of the deity on all occaſions the ambition of particular perſons only, but was the genius and diſpoſition of the whole nation.

* Polybius has tranſmitted to us a treaty of peace concluded between Philip, ſon of Demetrius, king of Macedon, and the Carthaginians, in which the great reſpect and veneration of the latter for the deity, their inherent perſuaſion that the gods aſſiſt and preſide over human affairs, and particularly over the ſolemn treaties made in their name and preſence, are ſtrongly diſplayed. Mention is therein made of five or ſix different orders of deities; and this enumeration appears very extraordinary in a public inſtrument, ſuch as a treaty of peace concluded between two nations. I will here preſent my reader with the very words of the hiſtorian, as it will give ſome idea of the Carthaginian theology. "This treaty was concluded in the preſence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; in the preſence of the dæmon or genius, δαίμονος, of the Carthaginians, of Hercules and Iolaus; in the preſence of Mars, Triton, and Neptune; in the preſence of all the confederate gods of the Carthaginians; and of the ſun, the moon, and the earth; in the preſence of the rivers, meads, and waters; in the preſence of all thoſe gods who poſſeſs Carthage:" What would we now ſay to an inſtrument of this kind, in which the tutelar angels and ſaints of a kingdom ſhould be introduced?

The Carthaginians had two dieties, to whom they paid a more particular worſhip, and who deſerve to have ſome mention made of them in this place.

The firſt was the goddeſs Cœleſtis, called likewiſe Urania, or the Moon, who was invoked in great calamities, and particularly in droughts, in order to obtain rain: † That very virgin Cœleſtis, ſays Tertullian, the promiſer of rain, *Iſta ipſa virgo Cœleſtis, pluviarum pollicitatrix.* Tertullian, ſpeaking of this goddeſs and of Æſculapius, makes the heathens of that age a challenge, which is bold indeed, but at the ſame time very glorious to the cauſe of Chriſtianity; and declares, that any Chriſtian who firſt comes ſhall oblige theſe falſe gods to confeſs publicly, that they are but devils; and conſents that this Chriſtian ſhall

* Lib. vii. p. 699. Edit. Gronov. † Apolog. c. xxiii.

be

be immediately killed, if he does not extort such a confession from the mouth of these gods. *Nisi se dæmones confessi fuerint Christiano, mentiri non audentes, ibidem illius Christiani procacissimi sanguinem fundite.* St. Austin likewise makes frequent mention of this deity. "*What is now," says he, "become of Cœ-"lestis, whose empire was once so great in Carthage?" This was doubtless the same deity whom † Jeremiah calls "the queen "of heaven;" and who was held in so much reverence by the Jewish women, that they addressed their vows, burnt incense, poured out drink-offerings, and made cakes for her with their own hands, *ut faciant placentas reginæ cæli;* and from whom they boasted their having received all manner of blessings, whilst they paid her a regular worship; whereas, since they had failed in it, they had been oppressed with misfortunes of every kind.

The second deity particularly adored by the Carthaginians, and in whose honour human sacrifices were offered, was Saturn, known in scripture by the name of Moloch; and this worship passed from Tyre to Carthage. Philo quotes a passage from Sanchoniathon, which shows that the kings of Tyre, in great dangers, used to sacrifice their sons to appease the anger of the gods; and that one of them, by this action, procured himself divine honours, and was worshipped as a god, under the name of the planet Saturn: to this doubtless was owing the fable of Saturn's devouring his own children. Particular persons, when they were desirous of averting any great calamities, took the same method; and, in imitation of their princes, were so very superstitious, that such as had no children, purchased those of the poor, in order that they might not be deprived of the merit of such a sacrifice. This custom prevailed long among the Phœnicians and Canaanites, from whom the Israelites borrowed it, though forbid expressly by heaven. At first, children were inhumanly burned, either in a fiery furnace like those in the valley of Hinnom, so often mentioned in scripture, or in a flaming statue of Saturn. ‡ The cries of these unhappy victims were drowned by the uninterrupted noise of drums and trumpets. Mothers § made it a merit, and a part of their religion, to view this barbarous spectacle with dry eyes, and without so much as a groan; and if a tear or a sigh stole from

* In Psalm xcviii. † Jer. vii. 18. xliv. 17—25.

‡ Plut. de superstit. p. 171.

§ Παρεισήκει δὲ ἡ μήτηρ ἀτενὴς καὶ ἀδάκρυτος, &c. The cruel and pitiless mother stood by as an unconcerned spectator; a groan or a tear falling from her would have been punished by a fine; and still the child must have been sacrificed. Plut. de superstitione.

them, the ſacrifice was leſs acceptable to the deity, and all the effects of it were entirely loſt. * This ſtrength of mind, or rather ſavage barbarity, was carried to ſuch exceſs, that even mothers would endeavour, with embraces and kiſſes, to huſh the cries of their children; leſt, had the victim been offered with an unbecoming grace, and in the midſt of tears, it ſhould anger the god: *Blanditiis et oſculis comprimebant vagitum, ne flebilis hoſtia immolaretur* †. They afterwards contented themſelves with making their children paſs through the fire; in which they frequently periſhed, as appears from ſeveral paſſages of ſcripture.

‡ The Carthaginians retained the barbarous cuſtom of offering human ſacrifices to their gods, till the ruin of their city §; an action which ought to have been called a ſacrilege rather than a ſacrifice. *Sacrilegium verius quam ſacrum.* It was ſuſpended only for ſome years, from the fear they were under of drawing upon themſelves the indignation and arms of Darius I. king of Perſia, who forbade them the offering up of human ſacrifices, and the eating the fleſh of dogs: || But they ſoon reſumed this horrid practice, ſince, in the reign of Xerxes, the ſucceſſor to Darius, Gelon the tyrant of Syracuſe, having gained a conſiderable victory over the Carthaginians in Sicily, made the following condition, among the other articles of peace he granted them, *viz.* "That no more human ſacrifices ſhould "be offered to Saturn." And doubtleſs, the practice of the Carthaginians, on this very occaſion, made Gelon uſe this precaution. ** For during the whole engagement, which laſted

* Tertul. in Apolog. † Minut. Felix. ‡ Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 5.

§ It appears from Tertullian's Apology, that this barbarous cuſtom prevailed in Africa long after the ruin of Carthage. "Infantes penes "Africam Saturno immolabantur palam uſque ad proconſulatum Tibe"rii, qui eoſdem ſacerdotes in eiſdem arboribus templi ſui obumbratici"bus ſcelerum votivis crucibus expoſuit, teſte militia patriæ noſtræ, quæ "id ipſum munus illi proconſuli functa eſt," *i.e.* Children were publicly ſacrificed to Saturn down to the proconſulſhip of Tiberius, who hanged the ſacrificing prieſts themſelves on the trees which ſhaded their temple, as on ſo many croſſes, raiſed to expiate their crimes; of which the militia of our country are witneſſes, who were the actors of this execution at the command of this proconſul. Tert. Apol. c. 9. Two learned men are at variance about the proconſul, and the time of his government. Salmaſius confeſſes his ignorance of both, but rejects the authority of Scaliger, who, for "proconſulatum," reads, "proconſulem Tiberii," and thinks Tertullian, when he wrote his Apology, had forgot his name. However this be, it is certain that the memory of the incident here related by Tertullian, was then recent, and probably the witneſſes of it had not been long dead.

|| Plut. de ſera vindic. deorum, p. 552.

** Herod. l. vii. c. 167.

from

from morning till night, Hamilcar, the ſon of Hanno their general, was perpetually offering up to the gods ſacrifices of living men, who were thrown on a flaming pile; and ſeeing his troops routed and put to flight, he himſelf ruſhed into the pile, in order that he might not ſurvive his own diſgrace; and to extinguiſh, ſays Ambroſe, ſpeaking of this action, with his own blood this ſacrilegious fire, when he found that it had not proved of ſervice to him *.

In times of peſtilence †, they uſed to ſacrifice a great number of children to their gods, unmoved with pity for a tender age, which excites compaſſion in the moſt cruel enemies; thus ſeeking a remedy for their evils in guilt itſelf, and endeavouring to appeaſe the gods by the moſt ſhocking kind of barbarity.

‡ Diodorus relates an inſtance of this cruelty which ſtrikes the reader with horror. At the time that Agathocles was juſt going to beſiege Carthage, its inhabitants, ſeeing the extremity to which they were reduced, imputed all the misfortunes to the juſt anger of Saturn, becauſe that, inſtead of offering up children nobly born, who were uſually ſacrificed to him, he had been fraudulently put off with the children of ſlaves and foreigners. To atone for this crime, two hundred children of the beſt families in Carthage were ſacrificed to Saturn; beſides which, upwards of three hundred citizens, from a ſenſe of their guilt of this pretended crime, voluntarily ſacrificed themſelves. Diodorus adds, that Saturn had a brazen ſtatue, the hands of which were turned downward; ſo that when a child was laid on them, it dropped immediately into an hollow, where was a fiery furnace.

Can this, ſays § Plutarch, be called worſhipping the gods? Can we be ſaid to entertain an honourable idea of them, if we ſuppoſe that they are pleaſed with ſlaughter, thirſty of human blood, and capable of requiring or accepting ſuch offerings? ‖ Religion, ſays this judicious author, is placed between two rocks, that are equally dangerous to man, and injurious to the

* In ipſos quos adolebat ſeſe præcipitavit ignes, ut eos vel cruore ſuo extingueret, quos ſibi nihil profuiſſe cognoverat. St. Amb.

† Cum peſte laborarent, cruenta ſacrorum religione et ſcelere pro remedio uſi ſunt. Quippe homines ut victimas immolabant, et impuberes (quæ ætas etiam hoſtium miſericordiam provocat), aris admovebant, pacem deorum ſanguine eorum expoſcentes, pro quorum vita dii maxime rogari ſolent. Juſtin. l. xviii. c. 6. The Gauls as well as Germans uſed to ſacrifice men, if Dionyſius and Tacitus may be credited.

‡ Lib. ii. p. 756. § De ſuperſtitione, p. 169—171.

‖ Idem in Camill. p. 132.

deity,

deity, I mean impiety and superſtition. The one, from an affectation of free-thinking, believes nothing; and the other, from a blind weakneſs, believes all things. Impiety, to rid itſelf of a terror which galls it, denies the very exiſtence of the gods: whilſt ſuperſtition, to calm its fears, capriciouſly forges gods, which it makes not only the friends, but protectors and models of crimes. *Had it not been better, ſays he farther, for the Carthaginians to have had a Critias, a Diagoras, and ſuch like open and undiſguiſed atheiſts for their lawgivers, than to have eſtabliſhed ſo frantic and wicked a religion? Could the Typhons and the giants, the open enemies to the gods, had they gained a victory over them, have eſtabliſhed more abominable ſacrifices?

Such were the ſentiments which a heathen entertained of this part of the Carthaginian worſhip. But one would ſcarce believe that mankind were capable of ſuch madneſs and frenzy. Men do not generally entertain ideas ſo deſtructive of all thoſe things which nature conſiders as moſt ſacred, as to ſacrifice, to murder their children with their own hands, and to throw them in cool blood into fiery furnaces! Such ſentiments, of ſo unnatural and barbarous a kind, and yet adopted by whole nations, and even by thoſe that paſſed for civilized, as the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Gauls, Scythians, and even the Greeks and Romans, and conſecrated by cuſtom during a long ſeries of ages, can have been inſpired by him only, who was a murderer from the beginning, and who delights in nothing but the humiliation, miſery, and perdition of man.

SECTION III.

Form of the Government of Carthage.

The government of Carthage was founded upon principles of the moſt conſummate wiſdom, and it is with reaſon that †Ariſtotle ranks this republic in the number of thoſe that were had in the greateſt eſteem by the ancients, and which was fit to ſerve as a model for others. He grounds his opinion on a reflection which does great honour to Carthage, by remarking, that, from its foundation to his time, that is upwards of 500 years, no conſiderable ſedition had diſturbed the peace, nor any tyrant oppreſſed the liberty of Carthage. Indeed, mixed governments, ſuch as that of Carthage, where the power was divided betwixt the nobles and the people, are ſubject to

* De ſuperſtitione. † De rep. l. ii. c. 11.

two

two inconveniences; either of degenerating into an abuſe of liberty by the ſeditions of the populace (as frequently happened in Athens, and in all the Grecian republics), or into the oppreſſion of the public liberty by the tyranny of the nobles, as in Athens, Syracuſe, Corinth, Thebes, and Rome itſelf under Sylla and Cæſar. It is therefore giving Carthage the higheſt praiſe, to obſerve, that it had found out the art, by the wiſdom of its laws, and the harmony of the different parts of its government, to ſhun, during ſo long a ſeries of years, two rocks that are ſo dangerous, and on which others ſo often ſplit.

It were to be wiſhed, that ſome ancient author had left us an accurate and regular deſcription of the cuſtoms and laws of this famous republic. For want of ſome ſuch aſſiſtance, we can only give our readers a confuſed and imperfect idea of them, by collecting the ſeveral paſſages which lie ſcattered up and down in authors. Chriſtopher Hendrich has obliged the learned world in this particular; and his * work has been of great ſervice to me.

†The government of Carthage, like that of Sparta and Rome, united three different authorities, which counterpoiſed and gave natural aſſiſtance to one another. Theſe authorities were, that of the two ſupreme magiſtrates called Suffetes‡; that of the ſenate; and that of the people. There afterwards was added the tribunal of One Hundred, which had great credit and influence in the republic.

THE SUFFETES.

THE power of the Suffetes was only annual, and their authority in Carthage anſwered to that of the conſuls at Rome§. In authors they are frequently called kings, dictators, conſuls; becauſe they exerciſed the functions of all three. Hiſtory does not inform us of the manner of their election. They were empowered to aſſemble the ſenate‖, in which they preſided; propoſed ſubjects for deliberation, and told the voices; **and they

* It is entitled, *Carthago, ſive Carthaginienſium reſpublica, &c. Francofurti ad Oderam, an.* 1664.

† Polyb. l. vi. p. 493.

‡ This name is derived from a word, which, with the Hebrews and Phœnicians, ſignifies, Judges, Sophetim.

§ Ut Romæ conſules, ſic Carthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur. Corn. Nep. in vita Annibalis, c. 7. The great Hannibal was once one of the Suffetes.

‖ Senatum itaque Suffetes, quod velut conſulare imperium apud eos erat, vocaverunt. Liv. l. xxx. n. 7.

** Cum Suffetes ad jus dicendum conſediſſent. Idem l. xxxiv. n. 62.

they likewiſe preſided in all emergent and deciſive debates. Their authority was not limited to the city, nor confined to civil affairs: they ſometimes had the command of the armies. We find, that when their employment of ſuffetes expired, they were made prætors, whoſe office was conſiderable, ſince it empowered them to preſide in ſome cauſes; as alſo to propoſe and enact new laws, and call to account the receivers of the public revenues, as appears from what Livy * relates concerning Hannibal on this head, and which I ſhall take notice of in the ſequel.

THE SENATE.

THE ſenate, compoſed of perſons who were venerable on account of their age, their experience, their birth, their riches, and eſpecially their merit, formed the council of ſtate; and were, if I may uſe that expreſſion, the ſoul of the public deliberations. Their number is not exactly known: it muſt, however, have been very great, ſince an hundred were ſelected from it to form a ſeparate aſſembly, of which I ſhall immediately have occaſion to ſpeak. In the ſenate, all affairs of conſequence were debated, the letters from generals read, the complaints of provinces heard, ambaſſadors admitted to audience, and peace or war determined, as is ſeen on many occaſions.

† When the ſentiments and votes were unanimous, the ſenate decided ſupremely, and there lay no appeal from it. When there was a diviſion, and the ſenate could not be brought to an agreement, the affair was then brought before the people, on whom the power of deciding thereby devolved. The reader will eaſily perceive the great wiſdom of this regulation, and how happily it was adapted to cruſh factions, to produce harmony, and to enforce and corroborate good counſels; ſuch an aſſembly being extremely jealous of its authority, and not eaſily prevailed upon to let it paſs into other hands. Of this we have a memorable inſtance in ‡ Polybius. When after the loſs of the battle fought in Africa, at the end of the ſecond Punic war, the conditions of peace offered by the victor were read in the ſenate, Hannibal, obſerving that one of the ſenators oppoſed them, repreſented in the ſtrongeſt terms, that as the ſafety of the republic lay at ſtake, it was of the utmoſt importance for the ſenators to be unanimous in their reſolutions, to prevent ſuch a debate from coming before the people; and

* Lib. xxxiii. n. 46, 47.
† Ariſt. loc. cit.
‡ Lib. xv. p. 706, 707.

he

he carried his point. This doubtleſs laid the foundation, in the infancy of the republic, of the ſenate's power, and raiſed its authority to ſo great a height. *And the ſame author obſerves, in another place, that, whilſt the ſenate had the adminiſtration of affairs, the ſtate was governed with great wiſdom, and ſucceſsful in all its enterpriſes.

THE PEOPLE.

It appears from every thing related hitherto, that ſo low as Ariſtotle's time, who gives ſo beautiful a draught, and beſtows ſo noble an eulogium on the government of Carthage, the people ſpontaneouſly left the care of public affairs, and the chief adminiſtration of them, to the ſenate: and this it was which made the republic ſo powerful. But things changed afterwards. For the people, grown inſolent by their wealth and conqueſts, and forgetting that they owed theſe bleſſings to the prudent conduct of the ſenate, were deſirous of having a ſhare in the government, and arrogated to themſelves almoſt the whole power. From that period, the public affairs were tranſacted wholly by cabals and factions; which Polybius aſſigns as one of the chief cauſes of the ruin of Carthage.

THE TRIBUNAL OF THE HUNDRED.

This was a body compoſed of an hundred and four perſons; though often, for brevity's ſake, they are called The Hundred. Theſe, according to Ariſtotle, were the ſame in Carthage, as the Ephori in Sparta; whence it appears, that they were inſtituted to balance the power of the nobles and ſenate; but with this difference, that the Ephori were but five in number, and elected annually; whereas theſe were perpetual, and were upwards of an hundred. It is believed, that theſe centumvirs are the ſame with the hundred judges mentioned by † Juſtin, who were taken out of the ſenate, and appointed to inquire into the conduct of their generals. The exorbitant power of Mago's family, which, by its engroſſing the chief employments both of the ſtate and the army, had thereby the ſole direction and management of all affairs, gave occaſion to this eſtabliſhment. It was intended as a curb to the authority of their generals, which, whilſt the armies were in the field, was almoſt boundleſs and abſolute; but, by this inſtitution, it became ſubject to the laws, by the obligation their generals were under of giving an account of their actions before theſe judges, on

* Polyb. l. vi. p. 494. A. Carth. 487.

† Lib. xvi. c. 2. A. M. 3609. A. Carth. 487.

their

their return from the campaign. * *Ut hoc metu ita in bello imperia cogitarent, ut domi judicia legesque respicerent.* Of these hundred and four judges, five had a particular jurisdiction superior to that of the rest; but it is not known how long their authority lasted. This council of five was like the council of ten in the Venetian senate. A vacancy in their number could be filled by none but themselves. They also had the power of chusing those who composed the council of the hundred. Their authority was very great, and for that reason none were elected into this office but persons of uncommon merit: and it was not judged proper to annex any salary or reward to it, the single motive of the public good being thought a tie sufficient to engage honest men to a conscientious and faithful discharge of their duty. † Polybius, in his account of the taking of New Carthage by Scipio, distinguishes clearly two orders of magistrates established in Old Carthage; for he says, that among the prisoners taken at New Carthage, were two magistrates belonging to the body or assembly of old men, ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας, so he calls the council of the hundred, and fifteen of the senate, ἐκ τῆς Συγκλήτου. ‡ Livy mentions only the fifteen senators; but, in another place, he names the old men; and tells us, that they formed the most venerable council of the government, and had great authority in the senate. § *Carthaginienses—Oratores ad pacem petendam mittunt triginta seniorum principes. Id erat sanctius apud illos concilium, maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis.*

Establishments, though constituted with the greatest wisdom, and the justest harmony of parts, degenerate, however, insensibly into disorder and the most destructive licentiousness. These judges, who, by the lawful execution of their power, were a terror to transgressors, and the great pillars of justice, abusing their almost unlimited authority, became so many petty tyrants. We shall see this verified in the history of the great Hannibal, who, during his prætorship, after his return

* Justin. l. xix. † Lib. x. p. 824. Edit. Gronov.

‡ Lib. xxvi. n. 51. Lib. xxx. n. 16.

§ Mr. Rollin might have taken notice of some civil officers who were established at Carthage, with a power like that of the censors of Rome, to inspect the manners of the citizens. The chief of these officers took from Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, a beautiful youth named Asdrubal, on a report that Hamilcar was more familiar with this youth than consistent with modesty. Erat præterea cum eo, Amilcare, adolescens illustris et formosus, Hasdrubal, quem nonnulli diligi turpius, quam par erat, ab Amilcare, loquibantur.—Quo factum est ut a præfecto morum Hasdrubal cum eo vetaretur esse. Corn. Nep. in Vita Amilcaris.

to

to Africa *, employed all his credit to reform ſo horrid an abuſe, and made an authority, which before was perpetual, only annual, about 200 years from the firſt founding the tribunal of the one hundred.

DEFECTS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF CARTHAGE.

Ariſtotle, among other reflections made by him on the government of Carthage, remarks two great defects in it; both which, in his opinion, are repugnant to the views of a wiſe lawgiver, and the maxims of good policy.

The firſt of theſe defects was, the inveſting the ſame perſon with different employments, which was conſidered at Carthage as a proof of uncommon merit. But Ariſtotle thinks this practice vaſtly prejudicial to a community; for, ſays this author, a man poſſeſſed but of one employment is much more capable of acquitting himſelf well in the execution of it; becauſe affairs are then examined with greater care, and ſooner diſpatched. We never ſee, continues our author, either by ſea or land, the ſame officer commanding two different bodies, or the ſame pilot ſteering two ſhips. Beſides, the welfare of the ſtate requires that places and preferment ſhould be divided, in order to excite an emulation among men of merit: whereas the beſtowing of them on one man too often dazzles him by ſo diſtinguiſhing a preference, and always fills others with jealouſy, diſcontent, and murmurs.

The ſecond defect taken notice of by Ariſtotle in the government of Carthage, was, that in order for a man to attain the firſt poſts, a certain eſtate was required, beſides merit and a conſpicuous birth; by which means poverty might exclude perſons of the moſt exalted merit, which he conſiders as a great evil in a government. For then, ſays he, as virtue is wholly diſregarded, and money is all-powerful, becauſe all things are attained by it, the admiration and deſire of riches ſeize and corrupt the whole community. Add to this, that when magiſtrates and judges are obliged to pay large ſums for their employments, they ſeem to have a right to reimburſe themſelves.

There is not, I believe, one inſtance in all antiquity, to ſhow that employments, either in the ſtate or the courts of juſtice, were ſold. The expence, therefore, which Ariſtotle talks of here, to raiſe men to preferments in Carthage, muſt doubtleſs be underſtood of the preſents that were given, in order to procure the votes of the electors; a practice, as Polybius obſerves,

* A. M. 3082. A. Carth. 682.

very common at Carthage, where no kind of gain was judged a diſgrace*. It is therefore no wonder, that Ariſtotle ſhould condemn a practice, whoſe conſequences, it is very plain, may prove fatal to a government.

But in caſe he pretended, that the chief employments of a ſtate ought to be equally acceſſible to the rich and the poor, as he ſeems to inſinuate, his opinion is refuted by the general practice of the wiſeſt republics; for theſe, without any way demeaning or aſperſing poverty, have thought that on this occaſion the preference ought to be given to riches; becauſe it is to be preſumed, that the wealthy have received a better education, have nobler views, are more out of the reach of corruption, and leſs liable to commit baſe actions; and that even the ſtate of their affairs makes them more affectionate to the government, inclines them to maintain peace and order in it, and to ſuppreſs whatever may tend to ſedition and rebellion.

Ariſtotle, in concluding his reflections on the republic of Carthage, is much pleaſed with a cuſtom practiſed in it, *viz.* of ſending from time to time colonies into different countries, and in this manner procuring its citizens commodious ſettlements. This provided for the neceſſities of the poor, who, equally with the rich, are members of the ſtate: and it diſcharged Carthage of multitudes of lazy indolent people, who were its diſgrace, and often proved dangerous to it. It prevented commotions and inſurrections, by thus removing ſuch perſons as commonly occaſion them, and who, being ever uneaſy under their preſent circumſtances, are always ready for innovations and tumults.

SECTION IV.

TRADE OF CARTHAGE, THE FIRST SOURCE OF ITS WEALTH AND POWER.

Commerce, ſtrictly ſpeaking, was the occupation of Carthage, the particular object of its induſtry, and its peculiar and predominant characteriſtic. It formed the greateſt ſtrength, and the chief ſupport of that commonwealth. In a word, we may affirm, that the power, the conqueſts, the credit, and glory of the Carthaginians, all flowed from trade.

Situated in the centre of the Mediterranean, and ſtretching out their arms both eaſtward and weſtward, the extent of their commerce took in all the known world, and waſted it to the coaſts of Spain, of Mauritania, of Gaul, and beyond

* Παρὰ Καρχηδονίοις δεῖν αἰσχρὸν τῶν ἀνηκόντων πρὸς κέρδος. Polyb. l. vi. p 497.

the

the ſtraits and pillars of Hercules. They ſailed to all countries, in order to buy, at a cheap rate, the ſuperfluities of every nation; which, by the wants of others, became neceſſaries; and theſe they ſold to them at the deareſt rate. From Egypt the Carthaginians fetched fine flax, paper, corn, ſails and cables for ſhips; from the coaſt of the Red Sea, ſpices, frankincenſe, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious ſtones; from Tyre and Phœnicia, purple and ſcarlet, rich ſtuffs, tapeſtry, coſtly furniture, and divers very curious and artificial works; in fine, they fetched from various countries, all things that are abſolutely neceſſary, or capable of contributing to eaſe, luxury, and the delights of life. They brought back from the weſtern parts of the world, in return for the commodites carried thither, iron, tin, lead, and copper. By the ſale of theſe various commodities, they enriched themſelves at the expence of all nations, and put them under a kind of contribution, which was ſo much the ſurer as it was ſpontaneous.

In thus becoming the factors and agents of all nations, they had made themſelves lords of the ſea; the band which held the eaſt, the weſt, and ſouth together; and the neceſſary channel of their communication; ſo that Carthage roſe to be the common city, and the centre of the trade of all thoſe nations which the ſea ſeparated from one another.

The moſt conſiderable perſonages of the city were not aſhamed to trade. They applied themſelves to it as induſtriouſly as the meaneſt citizens; and their great wealth did not make them leſs in love with the diligence, patience, and labour, which are neceſſary for the acquiring them. To this they owed their empire of the ſea, the ſplendor of their republic, their being able to diſpute for the ſuperiority with Rome itſelf, and their elevation of power, which forced the Romans to carry on a bloody and doubtful war, for upwards of 40 years, in order to humble and ſubdue this haughty rival. In fine, Rome, even in its triumphant ſtate, thought Carthage was not to be entirely reduced any other way, than by depriving that city of the benefit of its commerce, by which it had ſo long been enabled to reſiſt the whole ſtrength of that mighty republic.

However, it is no wonder, that as Carthage came in a manner out of the greateſt ſchool of traffic in the world, I mean Tyre, ſhe ſhould have been crowned with ſuch rapid and uninterrupted ſucceſs. The very veſſels on which its founders had been conveyed into Africa, were afterwards employed by them in their trade. They began to make ſettlements upon the coaſts of Spain, in thoſe ports where they unloaded their

goods. The caſe with which they had founded theſe ſettlements, and the conveniencies they met with, inſpired them with the deſign of conquering thoſe vaſt regions; and ſome time after, Nova Carthago, or New Carthage, gave the Carthaginians an empire in that country, almoſt equal to that they enjoyed in Africa.

SECTION V.

THE MINES OF SPAIN, SECOND SOURCE OF THE RICHES AND POWER OF CARTHAGE.

Diodorus * juſtly remarks, that the gold and ſilver mines found by the Carthaginians in Spain, were an inexhauſtible fund of wealth, that enabled them to ſuſtain ſuch long wars againſt the Romans. The natives had been long ignorant of theſe treaſures, at leaſt of their uſe and value, that lay concealed in the bowels of the earth. The Phœnicians firſt made the diſcovery; and, by bartering ſome wares of little value for this precious metal, which the natives ſuffered them to dig up, they amaſſed infinite wealth. The Carthaginians improved, from their example, when they conquered that country; as did the Romans afterwards, when they had diſpoſſeſſed the latter of it.

† The labour employed to come at theſe mines, and to dig the gold and ſilver out of them, was incredible; for the veins of theſe metals rarely appeared on the ſuperficies: they were to be fought for, and traced through frightful depths, where very often floods of water ſtopped the miners, and ſeemed to defeat all future purſuits. But avarice is as patient in undergoing fatigues, as ingenious in finding expedients. By pumps, which Archimedes had invented when in Egypt, the Romans afterwards threw up the water out of theſe kind of pits, and quite drained them. Numberleſs multitudes of ſlaves periſhed in theſe mines, which were dug to enrich their maſters, who treated them with the utmoſt barbarity, forced them by heavy ſtripes to labour, and gave them no reſpite either day or night. ‡ Polybius, as quoted by Strabo, ſays, that in his time, upwards of 40,000 men were employed in the mines near Nova Carthago, and furniſhed the Romans every day with 25,000 drachms, or L.859. 7s. 6d.§.

We muſt not be ſurpriſed to ſee the Carthaginians, ſoon af-

* Lib. iv. p. 312, &c. † Ibid. ‡ Lib. iii. p. 147.

§ 25,000 drachms—An Attic drachm, according to Dr. Bernard, is equal to 8¼d. Engliſh money, conſequently 25,000 is L.859. 7s. 6d.

ter

ter the greateſt defeats, ſending freſh and numerous armies again into the field; fitting out mighty fleets, and ſupporting, at a great expence, for many years, wars carried on by them in far-diſtant countries. But it muſt ſurpriſe us to hear of the Romans doing the ſame; they whoſe revenues were very inconſiderable before thoſe great conqueſts which ſubjected to them the moſt powerful nations, and who had no reſources, either from trade, to which they were abſolute ſtrangers, or from gold or ſilver mines (which were very rarely found in Italy, in caſe there were any; and conſequently, the expences of which muſt have ſwallowed up all the profit). The Romans, in the frugal and ſimple life they led, in their zeal for the public welfare, and their love for their country, poſſeſſed funds which were not leſs ready or ſecure than thoſe of Carthage, but at the ſame time were far more honourable.

SECTION VI.

WAR.

Carthage muſt be conſidered as a trading, and at the ſame time a warlike republic. Its genius and the nature of its government led it to traffic; and the neceſſity the Carthaginians were under, firſt of defending their ſubjects againſt the neighbouring nations, and afterwards a deſire of extending their commerce and empire, led them to war. This double idea gives us, in my opinion, the true plan and character of the Carthaginian republic. We have already ſpoken of its commerce.

The military power of the Carthaginians conſiſted in their alliances with kings; in tributary nations, from which they drew both men and money; in ſome troops raiſed from among their own citizens; and in mercenary ſoldiers purchaſed of neighbouring ſtates, without their being obliged to levy or exercife them, becauſe they were already well diſciplined and inured to the fatigues of war; they making choice, in every country, of ſuch ſoldiers as had the greateſt merit and reputation. They drew from Numidia, a nimble, bold, impetuous, and indefatigable cavalry, which formed the principal ſtrength of their armies; from the Belearian iſles, the moſt expert ſlingers in the world; from Spain, a ſtout and invincible infantry; from the coaſts of Genoa and Gaul, troops of known valour; and from Greece itſelf ſoldiers fit for all the various operations of war, for the field or the garriſon, for beſieging or defending cities.

In this manner the Carthaginians ſent out at once powerful

armies, compoſed of ſoldiers which were the flower of all the armies in the univerſe, without depopulating either their fields or cities by new levies; without ſuſpending their manufactures, or diſturbing the peaceable artificer; without interrupting their commerce, or weakening their navy. By venal blood they poſſeſſed themſelves of provinces and kingdoms, and made other nations the inſtruments of their grandeur and glory, with no other expence of their own, but their money; and even this furniſhed from the traffic they carried on with foreign nations.

If the Carthaginians, in the courſe of a war, ſuſtained ſome loſſes, theſe were but as ſo many foreign accidents, which only grazed, as it were, over the body of the ſtate, but did not make a deep wound in the bowels or heart of the republic. Theſe loſſes were ſpeedily repaired, by ſums ariſing out of a flouriſhing commerce, as from a perpetual ſinew of war, by which the government was furniſhed with new ſupplies for the purchaſe of mercenary forces, who were ready at the firſt ſummons. And from the vaſt extent of the coaſts which the Carthaginians poſſeſſed, it was eaſy for them to levy, in a very little time, a ſufficient number of ſailors and rowers for the working of their fleets, and to procure able pilots and experienced captains to conduct them.

But as theſe parts were fortuitouſly brought together, they did not adhere by any natural, intimate, or neceſſary tie. No common and reciprocal intereſt united them in ſuch a manner, as to form a ſolid and unalterable body. Not one individual in theſe mercenary armies wiſhed ſincerely the proſperity of the ſtate. They did not act with the ſame zeal, nor expoſe themſelves to dangers with equal reſolution, for a republic which they conſidered as foreign, and which conſequently was indifferent to them, as they would have done for their native country, whoſe happineſs conſtitutes that of the ſeveral members who compoſe it.

In great reverſes of fortune, the kings * in alliance with the Carthaginians might eaſily be detached from their intereſt, either by a jealouſy which the grandeur of a more powerful neighbour naturally gives, or from the hopes of reaping greater advantages from a new friend, or from the fear of being involved in the misfortunes of an old ally.

The tributary nations, being impatient under the weight and diſgrace of a yoke which had been forced upon their necks, greatly flattered themſelves with the hopes of finding one leſs

* As Syphax and Maſiniſſa.

galling

galling in changing their masters; or, in case servitude was unavoidable, the choice was indifferent to them, as will appear from many instances in the course of this history.

The mercenary forces, accustomed to measure their fidelity by the largeness or continuance of their pay, were ever ready, on the least discontent, or the slightest expectation of a more considerable stipend, to desert to the enemy with whom they had just before fought, and to turn their arms against those who had just before invited them to their assistance.

Thus the grandeur of the Carthaginians being sustained only by these foreign supports, was shaken to the very foundation when they were once taken away. And if, to this, there happened to be added an interruption of their commerce, by which only they subsisted, arising from the loss of a naval engagement, they imagined themselves to be on the brink of ruin, and abandoned themselves to despondency and despair, as was evidently seen at the end of the first Punic war.

Aristotle, in the treatise where he shows the advantages and defects of the government of Carthage, finds no fault with its keeping up none but foreign forces; it is therefore probable, that the Carthaginians did not fall into this practice till a long time after. But the rebellions which harassed Carthage in its later years, ought to have taught its citizens, that no miseries are comparable to those of a government which is supported only by foreigners; since neither zeal, security, nor obedience can be expected from them.

But this was not the case with the republic of Rome. As the Romans had neither trade nor money, they were not able to hire forces, in order to push on their conquests with the same rapidity as the Carthaginians: but then, as they procured every thing from within themselves, and as all the parts of the state were intimately united, they had surer resources in great misfortunes than the Carthaginians. And for this reason, they never once thought of suing for peace after the battle of Cannæ, as the Carthaginians had done in a less imminent danger.

The Carthaginians had, besides, a body of troops (which was not very numerous) levied from among their own citizens; and this was a kind of school, in which the flower of their nobility, and those whose talents and ambition prompted them to aspire to the first dignities, learned the rudiments of the art of war. From among these were selected all the general officers, who were put at the head of the different bodies of their forces, and had the chief command in the armies. This nation

was

was too jealous and ſuſpicious to employ foreign generals. But they were not ſo diſtruſtful of their own citizens as Rome and Athens; for the Carthaginians, at the ſame time that they inveſted them with great power, did not guard againſt the abuſe they might make of it, in order to oppreſs their country. The command of armies was neither annual, nor limited to any time, as in the two republics above mentioned. Many generals held their commiſſions for a great number of years, either till the war or their lives ended; though they were ſtill accountable to the commonwealth for their conduct, and liable to be recalled whenever a real overſight, a misfortune, or the ſuperior intereſt of a cabal, furniſhed an opportunity for it.

SECTION VII.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

It cannot be ſaid that the Carthaginians renounced entirely the glory which reſults from ſtudy and knowledge. The ſending Maſiniſſa, ſon of a powerful king *, thither for education, gives us room to believe, that Carthage was provided with an excellent ſchool. † The great Hannibal, who in all reſpects was an ornament to that city, was not unacquainted with polite literature, as will be ſeen hereafter. ‡ Mago, another very celebrated general, did as much honour to Carthage by his pen, as by his victories. He wrote 28 volumes upon huſbandry, which the Roman ſenate had in ſuch eſteem, that, after the taking of Carthage, when they preſented the African princes with the libraries founded there, (another proof that learning was not entirely baniſhed from Carthage), they gave orders to have theſe books tranſlated into Latin §, though Cato had before written books on that ſubject. ‖ There is ſtill extant a Greek verſion of a treatiſe drawn up by Hanno in the Punic tongue, relating to a voyage he made, by order of the ſenate, with a conſiderable fleet round Africa, for the ſettling of different colonies in that part of the world. This Hanno is believed to be more ancient, than the perſon of the ſame name, who lived in the time of Agathocles.

* King of the Maſſylians in Afric.

† Nepos in vita Annibalis. ‡ Cic. de Orat. l. i. n. 249. Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.

§ Theſe books were writ by Mago in the Punic language, and tranſlated into Greek by Caſſius Dionyſius of Utica, from whoſe verſion, we may probably ſuppoſe, the Latin was made.

‖ Voſſ. de Hiſt. Gr. l. iv.

Clitomachus,

* Clitomachus, called, in the Punic language, Aſdrubal, was a great philoſopher. He ſucceeded the famous Carneades, whoſe diſciple he had been, and maintained in Athens the honour of the academic ſect. † Cicero ſays, that he was a more ſenſible man, and fonder of ſtudy than the Carthaginians generally are. ‡ He compoſed ſeveral books, in one of which he drew a piece to conſole the unhappy citizens of Carthage, who, by the ruin of their city, were reduced to ſlavery.

I might rank among, or rather place at the head of, the writers who have adorned Africa with their compoſitions, the celebrated Terence; himſelf being ſingly capable of reflecting infinite honour on his country by the fame of his productions, if, on this account, Carthage, the place of his birth, ought not to be leſs conſidered as his country than Rome, where he was educated, and acquired that purity of ſtyle, that delicacy and elegance, which have gained him the admiration of all ſucceeding ages. § It is ſuppoſed, that he was carried off when an infant, or at leaſt very young, by the Numidians in their incurſions into the Carthaginian territories; during the war carried on between theſe two nations, from the concluſion of the ſecond, to the beginning of the third Punic war. He was ſold a ſlave to Terentius Lucanus, a Roman ſenator, who, after giving him an excellent education, gave him his liberty, and called him by his own name, as was then the cuſtom. He was united in a very ſtrict friendſhip with the ſecond Scipio Africanus, and Lælius; and it was a common report at Rome, that he had the aſſiſtance of theſe two great men in compoſing his pieces. The poet, ſo far from endeavouring to ſtifle a report ſo advantageous to him, made a merit of it. Only ſix of his comedies are extant. Some authors (according to Suetonius, the writer of his life) ſay, that in his return from Greece, whither he had made a voyage, he loſt a hundred and eight comedies tranſlated from Menander, and could not ſurvive an accident which muſt naturally afflict him in a ſenſible manner; but this incident is not very well founded. However this be, he died in the year of Rome 594, under the conſulſhip of Cneius Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius, aged 35 years, and conſequently was born Ann. 560.

It muſt yet be confeſſed, notwithſtanding all we have ſaid, that there ever was a great ſcarcity of learned men in Carthage,

* Plut. de. Fort. Alex. p. 328. Diog. Laert. in Clitom.

† Clitomachus, homo et acutus ut Pœnus, et valde ſtudioſus ac diligens. Academ. Quæſt. l. iv. n. 98.

‡ Tuſc. Quæſt. l. iii. n. 54. § Suet. in vit. Terent.

ſince

ſince it ſcarce furniſhed three or four writers of reputation in upwards of 700 years. Although the Carthaginians held a correſpondence with Greece and the moſt civilized nations, yet this did not excite them to borrow their learning, as being foreign to their views of trade and commerce. Eloquence, poetry, hiſtory, ſeem to have been little known among them. A Carthaginian philoſopher was conſidered as a ſort of prodigy by the learned. What then would an aſtronomer or a geometrician have been thought? I know not in what reputation phyſic, which is ſo advantageous to life, was at Carthage; or the civil law, ſo neceſſary to ſociety.

As works of wit were generally had in ſo much diſregard, the education of youth muſt neceſſarily have been very imperfect and unpoliſhed. In Carthage, the ſtudy and knowledge of youth were for the moſt part confined to writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and the buying and ſelling goods; in a word, to whatever related to traffic. But polite learning, hiſtory, and philoſophy, were in little repute among them. Theſe were, in later years, even prohibited by the laws, which expreſsly forbid any Carthaginian to learn the Greek tongue, leſt it might qualify them for carrying on a dangerous correſpondence with the enemy, either by letter or word of mouth*.

Now, what could be expected from ſuch a caſt of mind? Accordingly, there was never ſeen among them, that elegance of behaviour, that eaſe and complacency of manners, and thoſe ſentiments of virtue, which are generally the fruits of a liberal education in all civilized nations. The ſmall number of great men which this nation has produced, muſt therefore have owed their merit to the felicity of their genius, to the ſingularity of their talents, and a long experience, without any great aſſiſtance from inſtruction. Hence it was, that the merit of the greateſt men of Carthage was ſullied by great failings, low vices, and cruel paſſions; and it is rare to meet with any conſpicuous virtue among them, without ſome blemiſh; with any virtue of a noble, generous, and amiable kind, and ſupported

* Factum ſenatus-conſultum, ne quis poſtea Carthaginienſis aut literis Græcis aut ſermoni ſtuderet; ne aut loqui cum hoſte, aut ſcribere ſine interprete poſſet. Juſtin. l. xx. c. 5. Juſtin aſcribes the reaſon of this law to a treaſonable correſpondence between one Suniatus, a powerful Carthaginian, and Dionyſius, the tyrant of Sicily; the former by letters written in Greek, (which afterwards fell into the hands of the Carthaginians), having informed the tyrant of the war deſigned againſt him by his country, out of hatred to Hanno the general, to whom he was an enemy.

by

by clear and lasting principles, such as is every where found among the Greeks and Romans. The reader will perceive, that I here speak only of the heathen virtues, and agreeable to the idea which the Pagans entertained of them.

I meet with as few monuments of their skill in arts of a less noble and necessary kind, as painting and sculpture. I find, indeed, that they had plundered the conquered nations of a great many works in both these kinds: but it does not appear that they themselves had produced many.

From what has been said, one cannot help concluding, that traffic was the predominant inclination, and the peculiar characteristic of the Carthaginians; that it formed, in a manner, the basis of the state, the soul of the commonwealth, and the grand spring which gave motion to all their enterprises. The Carthaginians, in general, were skilful merchants; employed wholly in traffic; excited strongly by the desire of gain, and esteeming nothing but riches; directing all their talents, and placing their chief glory in amassing them, though at the same time they scarce knew the use for which they were designed, or how to use them in a noble or worthy manner.

SECTION VIII.

THE CHARACTER, MANNERS, AND QUALITIES OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

In the enumeration of the various qualities which Cicero * assigns to different nations, as their distinguishing characteristics, he declares that of the Carthaginians to be craft, skill, address, industry, cunning, *calliditas;* which doubtless appeared in war, but was still more conspicuous in the rest of their conduct; and this was joined to another quality, that bears a very near relation to it, and is still less reputable. Craft and cunning lead naturally to lying, hypocrisy, and breach of faith; and these, by accustoming the mind insensibly to be less scrupulous with regard to the choice of the means for compassing its designs, prepare it for the basest frauds, and the most perfidious actions. This was also one of the characteristics of the Carthaginians †; and it was so notorious, that to signify any re-

* Quam volumus licet ipsi nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, sed pietate ac religione, &c. omnes gentes nationesque superavimus. De Arusp. Resp. n. 19.

† Carthaginienses fraudulenti et mendaces—multis et variis mercatorum advenarumque sermonibus ad studium fallendi quæstus cupiditate vocabantur. Cic. Orat. ii. in Rull. n. 94.

markable

markable diſhoneſty, it was uſual to call it Punic honour, *fides Punica;* and to denote a knaviſh, deceitful mind, no expreſſion was thought more proper and emphatical than this, "a "Carthaginian mind," *Punicum ingenium.*

An exceſſive thirſt for, and an immoderate love of profit, generally gave occaſion in Carthage to the committing baſe and unjuſt actions. One ſingle example will prove this. In the time of a truce, granted by Scipio, at the earneſt entreaties of the Carthaginians, ſome Roman veſſels, being drove by a ſtorm on the coaſt of Carthage, were ſeized by order of the ſenate and people*, who could not ſuffer ſo tempting a prey to eſcape them. They were reſolved to get money, though the manner of acquiring it were ever ſo ſcandalous. †The inhabitants of Carthage, even in St. Auſtin's time, as that father informs us, ſhowed on a particular occaſion, that they ſtill retained part of this characteriſtic.

‡But theſe were not the only blemiſhes and faults of the Carthaginians. They had ſomething auſtere and ſavage in their diſpoſition and genius, a haughty and imperious air, a ſort of ferocity, which, in its firſt ſtarts, was deaf to either reaſon or [illegible] and plunged brutally into the utmoſt exceſſes [illegible] The people, cowardly and groveling under ap[illegible]e fiery and cruel in their tranſports; at the [illegible] they trembled under their magiſtrates, they were dreaded in their turn, by their miſerable vaſſals. In this we ſee the difference which education makes between one nation and another. The Athenians, whoſe city was always conſidered as the centre of learning, were naturally jealous of their authority, and difficult to govern; but ſtill, a fund of good nature and humanity made them compaſſionate the misfortunes of others, and be indulgent to the errors of their leaders. Cleon one day deſired the aſſembly, in which he pre-

* Magiſtratus ſenatum vocare, populus in curiæ veſtibulo fremere, ne tanta ex oculis manibuſque amitteretur præda. Conſenſum eſt ut, &c. Liv. xxx. n. 24.

† A mountebank had promiſed the people of Carthage, to diſcover to them their moſt ſecret thoughts, in caſe they would come on a day appointed, to hear him. Being all met, he told them, they were deſirous to buy cheap, and ſell dear. Every man's conſcience pleaded guilty to the charge, and the mountebank was diſmiſſed with laughter and applauſe. "Vili vultis emere, et care vendere; in quo dicto leviſſimi ſce"nici omnes tamen conſcientias invenerunt ſuas, eique vera et tamen "improviſa dicenti admirabili favore plauſerunt." S. Aug. l. xiii. de Trinit. c. 3.

‡ Plut. de ger. Rep. p. 799.

fided,

ſided, to break up; becauſe, as he told them, he had a ſacrifice to offer, and friends to entertain. The people only laughed at the requeſt, and immediately ſeparated. Such a liberty, ſays Plutarch, at Carthage, would have coſt a man his life.

*Livy makes a like reflection with regard to Terentius Varro. That general being returned to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, which had been loſt by his ill conduct, was met by perſons of all orders of the ſtate, at ſome diſtance from Rome, and thanked by them, for his not having deſpaired of the commonwealth; who, ſays the hiſtorian, had he been a general of the Carthaginians, muſt have expected the moſt ſevere puniſhment. *Cui, ſi Carthaginienſium ductor fuiſſet, nihil recuſandum ſupplicii foret.* Indeed a court was eſtabliſhed at Carthage, where the generals were obliged to give an account of their conduct; and they all were made reſponſible for the events of war. Ill ſucceſs was puniſhed there as a crime againſt the ſtate; and whenever a general loſt a battle, he was almoſt ſure, at his return, of ending his life upon a gibbet. Such was the furious, cruel, and barbarous diſpoſition of the Carthaginians, who were always ready to ſhed the blood of their citizens as well as of foreigners. The unheard-of tortures which they made Regulus ſuffer, are a manifeſt proof of this aſſertion; and their hiſtory will furniſh us with ſuch inſtances of it, as are not to be read without horror.

PART SECOND.

The History of the Carthaginians.

THE interval of time between the foundation of Carthage and its ruin included 700 years, and may be divided into two parts. The firſt, which is much the longeſt, and the leaſt known, as is ordinary with the beginnings of all ſtates, extends to the firſt Punic war, and takes up 582 years. The ſecond, which ends at the deſtruction of Carthage, contains but 118 years.

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDATION OF CARTHAGE, AND ITS PROGRESS TILL THE TIME OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

CARTHAGE, in Africa, was a colony from Tyre, the moſt renowned city at that time for commmerce in the

* Lib xxii. n. 61.

world. Tyre had long before tranſplanted another colony into that country, which built Utica*, made famous by the death of the ſecond Cato, who, for this reaſon, is generally called Cato Uticenſis.

Authors diſagree very much with regard to the era of the foundation of Carthage†. It is a difficult matter, and not very material, to reconcile them; at leaſt, agreeably to the plan laid down by me, it is ſufficient to know, within a few years, the time in which that city was built.

‡Carthage exiſted a little above 700 years. It was deſtroyed under the conſulate of Cn. Lentulus and L. Mummius, the 603d year of Rome, 3859th of the world, and 145 before Chriſt. The foundation of it may therefore be fixed at the year of the world 3158, when Joaſh was king of Judah, 98 years before the building of Rome, and 846 before our Saviour.

§The foundation of Carthage is aſcribed to Eliſa, a Tyrian princeſs, better known by the name of Dido. Ithobal, king of Tyre, and father of the famous Jezebel, called in ſcripture Ethbaal, was her great-grandfather. She married her near relation Acerbas, called otherwiſe Sicharbas and Sichæus, an extremely rich prince, and Pygmalion king of Tyre was her brother. This prince having put Sichæus to death, in order that he might have an opportunity to ſeize his immenſe treaſures, Dido eluded the cruel avarice of her brother, by withdrawing ſecretly with all her dead huſband's poſſeſſions. After having long wandered, ſhe at laſt landed on the coaſt of the Mediterranean, in the gulph where Utica ſtood, and in the country of Africa properly ſo called, diſtant almoſt fifteen ‖miles from Tunis, ſo famous, at this time, for its corſairs; and there ſettled with

* Utica et Carthago, ambæ inclytæ, ambæ à Phœnicibus conditæ; illa fato Catonis inſignis, hæc ſuo. Pompon. Mel. c. 67. Utica and Carthage, both famous, and both built by Phænicians; the firſt renowned by Cato's fate, the laſt by its own.

† Our countryman Howel endeavours to reconcile the three different accounts of the foundation of Carthage, in the following manner. He ſays that the town conſiſted of three parts, *viz.* Cothon, or the port and buildings adjoining to it, which he ſuppoſes to have been firſt built; Megara, built next, and in reſpect of Cothon, called the New Town, or Karthada; and Byrſa, or the citadel, built laſt of all, and probably by Dido.

Cothon, to agree with Appian, was built 50 years before the taking of Troy; Megara, to correſpond with Euſebius, was built 194 years after; Byrſa, to agree with Menander, cited by Joſephus, was built 160 years after Megara.

‡ Liv. Epit. l. li. § Juſtin. l. xviii. c. 4, 5, 6. App. de bello Pun. p. 1. Strab. l. xvii. p. 832. Paterc. l. i. c. 6.

‖ 120 Stadia. Strab. l. xiv. p. 687.

her

her few followers, after having purchaſed ſome lands from the inhabitants of the country*.

Many of the neighbouring people, invited by the proſpect of lucre, repaired thither to ſell to theſe foreigners the neceſſaries of life, and ſhortly after incorporated themſelves with them. Theſe inhabitants, who had been thus gathered from different places, ſoon grew very numerous. The citizens of Utica conſidering them as their countrymen, and as deſcended from the ſame common ſtock, deputed envoys with very conſiderable preſents, and exhorted them to build a city in the place where they had firſt ſettled. The natives of the country, from the eſteem and reſpect frequently ſhown to ſtrangers, made them the like offers. Thus all things conſpiring with Dido's views, ſhe built her city, which was appointed to pay an annual tribute to the Africans for the ground it ſtood upon, and called Carthada, †, or Carthage, a name that, in the Phœnician and Hebrew tongues, which have a great affinity, ſignifies the New City. It is ſaid that when the foundations were dug, a horſe's head was found, which was thought a good omen, and a preſage of the future warlike genius of that people‡.

This princeſs was afterwards courted by Iarbas, king of Getulia, and threatened with a war in caſe of refuſal. Dido, who had bound herſelf by an oath not to conſent to a ſecond marriage, being incapable of violating the faith ſhe had ſworn to Sichæus, deſired time for deliberation, and for appeaſing

* Some authors ſay, that Dido put a trick on the natives, by deſiring to purchaſe of them, for the intended ſettlement, only ſo much land as an ox's hide would encompaſs. The requeſt was thought too moderate to be denied. She then cut the hide into the ſmalleſt thongs; and with them, encompaſſed a large tract of ground, on which ſhe built a citadel called Byrſa, from the hide. But this tale of the thong is generally exploded by the learned; who obſerve, that the Hebrew word Boſra, which ſignifies a fortification, gave riſe to the Greek word Byrſa, which is the name of the citadel of Carthage.

† Kartha Hadath, or Hadtha.

‡ Effodere loco ſignum, quod regia Juno
Monſtrarat, caput acris equi; nam ſic fore bello,
Egregiam, et facilem victu per ſecula gentem.
VIRG. Æn. l. i. ver. 447.

The Tyrians landing near this holy ground,
And digging here, a proſp'rous omen found:
From under earth a courſer's head they drew,
Their growth and future fortune to foreſhew:
This fated ſign their foundreſs Juno gave,
Of a ſoil fruitful, and a people brave. DRYDEN.

the manes of her firſt huſband by ſacrifice. Having, therefore, ordered a pile to be raiſed, ſhe aſcended it; and drawing out a dagger ſhe had concealed under her robe, ſtabbed herſelf with it*.

Virgil has made a great deal of alteration in this hiſtory, by ſuppoſing that Æneas, his hero, was cotemporary with Dido, though there was an interval of near three centuries between the one and the other; the era of the building of Carthage being fixed three hundred years lower than the deſtruction of Troy. This liberty is very excuſable in a poet, who is not tied to the ſcrupulous accuracy of an hiſtorian; we admire, with great reaſon, the judgment he has ſhewn in his plan, when, to affect the Romans the more, for whom he wrote, with his ſubject, he has the art of introducing into it the implacable hatred which ſubſiſted between Carthage and Rome, and ingeniouſly deduces the original of it from the very remote foundation of thoſe two rival cities.

Carthage, whoſe beginnings, as we have obſerved, were very weak, grew larger by inſenſible degrees, where it was founded. But its dominion was not long confined to Africa. The inhabitants of this ambitious city extended their conqueſts into Europe, by invading Sardinia, ſeizing a great part of Sicily, and reducing almoſt all Spain; and having ſent powerful colonies every-where, they enjoyed the empire of the ſeas for more than ſix hundred years; and formed a ſtate which was able to diſpute pre-eminence with the greateſt empires of the world, by their wealth, their commerce, their numerous armies, their

* The ſtory, as it is told more at large in Juſtin. l. xviii. c. 6. is this: Iarbas, king of the Mauritanians, ſending for ten of the principal Carthaginians, demanded Dido in marriage, threatening to declare war againſt her in caſe of a refuſal. The ambaſſadors being afraid to deliver the meſſage of Iarbas, told her, with Punic honeſty, that he wanted to have ſome perſon ſent him, who was capable of civilizing and poliſhing himſelf and his Africans; but that there was no poſſibility of finding any Carthaginian, who would be willing to quit his native place and kindred, for the converſation of Barbarians, who were as ſavage as the wildeſt beaſts. Here the queen with indignation interrupting them, and aſking, if they were not aſhamed to refuſe living in any manner which might be beneficial to their country, to which they owed even their lives; they then delivered the king's meſſage, and bid her ſet them a pattern, and ſacrifice herſelf to her country's welfare. Dido, being thus enſnared, called on Sichæus with tears and lamentations, and anſwered, that ſhe would go where the fate of her city called her. At the expiration of three months, ſhe aſcended the fatal pile, and with her laſt breath told the ſpectators, that ſhe was going to her huſband, as they had ordered her.

formidable

formidable fleets, and, above all, by the courage and ability of their captains. The dates and circumſtances of many of theſe conqueſts are little known. I ſhall take but a tranſient notice of them, in order to enable my readers to form ſome idea of the countries, which will be often mentioned in the courſe of this hiſtory.

CONQUESTS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN AFRICA.

*The firſt wars made by the Carthaginians, were to free themſelves from the annual tribute which they had engaged to pay the African, for the land theſe had permitted them to ſettle in. This conduct does them no honour, as the ſettlement was granted them, upon condition of their paying a tribute. One would be apt to imagine, that they were deſirous of covering the obſcurity of their original, by aboliſhing this proof of it. But they were not ſucceſsful on this occaſion. The Africans had juſtice on their ſide, and they proſpered accordingly, the war being terminated by the payment of the tribute.

†The Carthaginians afterwards carried their arms againſt the Moors and Numidians, and won conqueſts from both. Being now emboldened by theſe happy ſucceſſes, they ſhook off entirely the tribute which gave them ſo much uneaſineſs‡, and poſſeſſed themſelves of a great part of Africa.

§About this time there aroſe a great diſpute between Carthage and Cyrene, on account of their reſpective limits. Cyrene was a very powerful city, ſituated on the Mediterranean, towards the greater Syrtis, and had been built by Battus the Lacedæmonian.

It was agreed on each ſide, that two young men ſhould ſet out at the ſame time from either city, and that the place of their meeting ſhould be the common boundary of both ſtates. The Carthaginians (theſe were two brothers named Philæni) made the moſt haſte; and their antagoniſts pretending that foul play had been uſed, and that theſe two brothers above mentioned had ſet out before the time appointed, refuſed to ſtand to the agreement, unleſs the two brothers, to remove all ſuſpicion of their unfair dealing, would conſent to be buried alive in the place where they had met. They acquieſced with the propoſal; and the Carthaginians erected, on that ſpot,

* Juſtin. l. xix. c. i. † Ibid. c. ii.

‡ Afri compulſi ſtipendium urbis conditæ Carthaginienſibus remittere. Juſtin. l. xix. c. ii.

§ Salluſt de bello Jugurth. n. 77. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 6.

two altars to their memories, and paid them divine honours in their city; and from that time, the place was called "The altars of the Philæni, Aræ Philænorum*," and served as the boundary of the Carthaginian empire, which extended from thence to the pillars of Hercules.

CONQUESTS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SARDINIA, &c.

History does not inform us exactly, either of the time when the Carthaginians entered Sardinia, or of the manner they got possession of it. †This island was of great use to them, and during all their wars supplied them abundantly with provisions. It is separated from Corsica by a strait of about three leagues over. The metropolis of the southern and most fertile part of it, was Caralis or Calaris, now called Cagliari. On the arrival of the Carthaginians, the natives withdrew to the mountains in the northern parts of the island, which are almost inaccessible, and whence the enemy could not dislodge them.

The Carthaginians seized likewise on the Baleares, now called Majorca and Minorca. Port Magon, in the latter island, was so called from Mago, a Carthaginian general, who first made use of, and fortified it. ‡It is not known who this Mago was; but it is very probable that he was Hannibal's brother. This harbour is, at this day, one of the most considerable in the Mediterranean.

§These isles furnished the Carthaginians with the most expert slingers in the world, who did them great service in battles and sieges. They slung large stones of above a pound weight; and sometimes threw leaden bullets ‖ with so much violence, that they would pierce even the strongest helmets, shields, and cuirasses; and were so dextrous in their aim, that they scarce ever missed the blow. The inhabitants of these islands were accustomed, from their infancy, to handle the sling; for which purpose their mothers placed, on the bough of a high tree, the piece of bread designed for their children's break-

* These pillars were not standing in Strabo's time. Some geographers think Arcadia to be the city which was anciently called Philænorum Aræ; but others believe it was Naina or Tain, situated a little west of Arcadia, in the gulph of Sidra.

† Strab. l. v. p. 224. Diod. l. v. p. 296.

‡ Liv. l. xxviii. n. 37.

§ Diod. l. v. n. 298. and l. xix. p. 742. Liv. loco citato.

‖ Liquescit excussa glans funda, at attritu aeris, velut igne, distillat, i. e. The ball, when thrown from the sling, dissolves; and, by the friction of the air, runs as if it was melted by fire. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. ii. c. 57.

fast,

faſt, who were not allowed a morſel till they had brought it down with their ſlings. * From this practice theſe iſlands were called Baleares and Gymnaſiæ by the Greeks; becauſe the inhabitants uſed to exerciſe themſelves ſo early in ſlinging of ſtones †.

CONQUESTS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SPAIN.

Before I enter on the relation of theſe conqueſts, I believe it will be proper to give my readers ſome idea of Spain.

‡ Spain is divided into three parts, Boetica, Luſitania, Tarraconia.

Boetica, ſo called from the river Boetus §, was the ſouthern diviſion of it, and comprehended the preſent kingdom of Granada, Andaluſia, part of New Caſtile, and Eſtremadura. Cadiz, called by the ancients Gades and Gadira, is a town ſituated in a ſmall iſland of the ſame name, on the weſtern coaſt of Andaluſia, about nine leagues from Gibraltar. ‖ It is well known, that Hercules, extending his conqueſts to this place, halted, from the ſuppoſition that he was come to the extremity of the world. He here erected two pillars, as monuments of his victories, purſuant to the cuſtom of that age. The place has always retained the name, though time has quite deſtroyed theſe pillars. Authors are divided in opinion, with regard to the place where theſe pillars were erected. ** Boetica was the

* Strab. l. iii. p. 167.

† Bochart derives the name of theſe iſlands from two Phœnician words, Baal-jare, or maſter of the art of ſlinging. This ſtrengthens the authority of Strabo, viz. that the inhabitants learnt their art from the Phœnicians, who were once their maſters. Σφενδονῆται ἄριστοι λέγονται—ἐξότε φοίνικες κατέσχον τὰς νήσους. And this is ſtill more probable, when we conſider that both the Hebrews and Phœnicians excelled in this art. The Balearian ſlings would annoy an enemy either near at hand, or at a diſtance. Every ſlinger carried three of them in war; one hung from the neck, a ſecond from the waiſt, and a third was carried in the hand. To this give me leave to add two more obſervations, foreign indeed to the preſent purpoſe, but relating to theſe iſlands, which I hope will not be unentertaining to the reader. The firſt is, that theſe iſlands were once ſo infeſted with rabbits, that the inhabitants of them applied to Rome, either for aid againſt them, or otherwiſe deſired new habitations, ἐκβάλλεσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ζώων τούτων, thoſe creatures having ejected them out of their old ones. Vide Strab. Plin. l. viii. c. 55. The ſecond obſervation is, that theſe iſlanders were not only expert ſlingers, but likewiſe excellent ſwimmers; which they are to this day, by the teſtimony of our countryman Biddulph, who, in his Travels, informs us, that being becalmed near theſe iſlands, a woman ſwam to him out of one of them, with a baſket of fruit to ſell.

‡ Cluver. l. ii. c. 2.

§ Guadalquivir.

‖ Strab. l. iii. p. 171.

** Ibid. p. 139—142.

moſt

moſt fruitful, the wealthieſt, and moſt populous part of Spain. It contained 200 cities, and was inhabited by the Turdetani, or Turduli. On the banks of the Boetus ſtood three large cities; Caſtulo, towards the ſource; Corduba, lower down, the native place of Lucan and the two Seneca's; laſtly, Hiſpalis*.

Luſitania is bounded on the weſt by the Ocean, on the north by the river Durius†, and on the ſouth by the river Anas‡. Between theſe two rivers is the Tagus. Luſitania was what is now called Portugal, with part of Old and New Caſtile.

Tarraconia comprehended the reſt of Spain, that is, the kingdoms of Murcia and Valentia, Catalonia, Arragon, Navarre, Biſcay, the Aſturias, Gallicia, the kingdom of Leon, and the greateſt part of the two Caſtiles. Tarraco§, a very conſiderable city, gave its name to that part of Spain. Pretty near it lay Barcino‖. Its name makes it conjectured, that it was built by Barcha, father of the great Hannibal. The moſt renowned nations of Tarraconia, were the Celtiberi, beyond the river Iberus**; the Cantabri, where Biſcay now lies; the Carpetani, whoſe capital was Toledo; the Ovitani, &c.

Spain, abounding with mines of gold and ſilver, and peopled with a martial race of men, had ſufficient to excite both the avarice and ambition of the Carthaginians, who were more of a mercantile than of a warlike diſpoſition, even from the genius and conſtitution of their republic. They doubtleſs knew that their Phœnician anceſtors, as †† Diodorus relates, taking advantage of the happy ignorance of the Spaniards, with regard to the immenſe riches which were hid in the bowels of their lands, firſt took from them theſe precious treaſures, in exchange for commodities of the loweſt value. They likewiſe foreſaw, that if they could once ſubdue this country, it would furniſh them abundantly with well-diſciplined troops for the conqueſt of other nations, as actually happened.

‡‡The occaſion of the Carthaginians' firſt landing in Spain, was to aſſiſt the inhabitants of Cadiz, who were invaded by the Spaniards. That city, as well as Utica and Carthage, was a colony of Tyre, and even more ancient than either of them. The Tyrians, having built it, eſtabliſhed there the worſhip of Hercules, and erected in his honour, a magnificent temple, which became famous in after-ages. The ſucceſs of

* Seville. † Duero. ‡ Guadiana. § Tarragona.
‖ Barcelona. ** Ebro. †† Lib. v. p. 312.
‡‡ Juſtin. l. xliv. c. 5. Diod. l. v. p. 300.

this

this firſt expedition of the Carthaginians made them deſirous of carrying their arms into Spain.

It is not exactly known in what period they entered Spain, nor how far they extended their firſt conqueſts. It is probable that theſe were ſlow in the beginning, as the Carthaginians had to do with very warlike nations, who defended themſelves with great reſolution and courage. Nor could they ever have accompliſhed their deſign, as *Strabo obſerves, had the Spaniards, united in a body, formed but one ſtate, and mutually aſſiſted one another. But as every canton, every people, were entirely detached from their neighbours, and had not the leaſt correſpondence with them, the Carthaginians were forced to ſubdue them one after another. This circumſtance occaſioned, on one hand, their ruin; and on the other, protracted the war, and made the conqueſt of the country much more difficult †; accordingly it has been obſerved, that though Spain was the firſt province which the Romans invaded on the continent, it was the laſt they ſubdued‡, and was not entirely ſubjected to their power, till after having made a vigorous oppoſition for upwards of 200 years.

It appears from the accounts given by Polybius and Livy, of the wars of Hamilcar, Aſdrubal, and Hannibal in Spain, which will ſoon be mentioned, that the army of the Carthaginians had not made any conſiderable progreſs in that country, till this period, and that the greateſt part of Spain was then unconquered. But in twenty years time they completed the conqueſt of almoſt the whole country.

§ At the time that Hannibal ſet out for Italy, all the coaſt of Africa, from the Philænorum Aræ, by the great Syrtis, to the pillars of Hercules, was ſubject to the Carthaginians. Paſſing through the ſtraits, they had conquered all the weſtern coaſt of Spain, along the ocean, as far as the Pyrenean hills. The coaſt which lies on the Mediterranean had been almoſt wholly ſubdued by them; and it was there they had built Carthagena; and they were maſters of all the country, as far as the river Iberus, which bounded their dominions. Such was, at that time, the extent of their empire. In the centre of the

* Lib. iii. p. 158.

† Such a diviſion of Britain retarded, and at the ſame time facilitated the conqueſt of it by the Romans. Dum ſinguli pugnant, univerſi vincuntur. Tacit.

‡ Hiſpania prima Romanis inita Provinciarum quæ quidem continentis ſint, poſtrema omnium perdomita eſt. Liv. l. xxviii. n. 12.

§ Polyb. l. iii. p, 192. l. i. p. 9.

country,

country, some nations had indeed held out against all their efforts, and could not be subdued by them.

CONQUESTS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SICILY.

The wars which the Carthaginians carried on in Sicily are more known. I shall here relate those which were waged from the reign of Xerxes (who first prompted the Carthaginians to carry their arms into Sicily) till the first Punic war. This takes up near 220 years, *viz.* from the year of the world 3520 to 3738. At the breaking out of these wars, Syracuse, the most considerable as well as most powerful city of Sicily, had invested Gelon, Hiero, and Thrasybulus, three brothers who succeeded one another, with a sovereign power. After their deaths, a democracy or popular government was established in that city, and subsisted above 60 years. From this time, the two Dionysius's, Timoleon, and Agathocles, bore the sway in Syracuse. Pyrrhus was afterwards invited into Sicily, but he kept possession of it only a few years. Such was the government of Sicily during the wars of which I am going to treat. They will give us great light with regard to the power of the Carthaginians, at the time that they began to be engaged in war with the Romans.

Sicily is the largest and most considerable island in the Mediterranean. It is of a triangular form, and for that reason was called Trinacria and Triquetra. The eastern side, which faces the Ionian or Grecian sea, extends from Cape Pachynum * to Pelorum†. The most celebrated cities on this coast are Syracuse, Tauromenium, and Messana. The northern coast, which looks towards Italy, reaches from cape Pelorum to cape Lilybæum ‡. The most noted cities on this coast are Mylæ, Hymera, Panormus, Eryx, Motya, Lilybæum. The southern coast, which lies opposite to Africa, extends from cape Lilybæum to Pachynum. The most remarkable cities on this coast are Selinus, Agrigentum, Gela, and Camarina. This island is separated from Italy by a strait, which is about a mile and a half over, and called the Faro, or Strait of Messina. § The passage from Lilybæum to Africa is but 1500 furlongs, that is, about 75 leagues.

|| The period in which the Carthaginians first carried their arms into Sicily is not exactly known. All we are certain of is, that they were already possessed of some part of it at the

* Passaro. † Il Faro. ‡ Cape Boéo. § Strabo, l. vi. p. 267. || A. M. 3501. A. Carth. 343. Rom. 245. Ant. J. C. 503. Polyb. l. iii. p. 245, & seq. edit. Gronov.

time

time that they entered into a treaty with the Romans; the same year that the kings were expelled, and consuls appointed in their room, *viz.* 28 years before Xerxes invaded Greece. This treaty, which is the first we find mentioned to have been made between these two nations, speaks of Africa and Sardinia as possessed by the Carthaginians; whereas the conventions with regard to Sicily relate only to those parts of the island which were subject to them. By this treaty it is expressly stipulated, that neither the Romans nor their allies shall sail beyond the Fair Promontory *, which was very near Carthage; and that such merchants, as shall resort to this city for traffic, shall pay only certain duties as are settled in it †.

It appears by the same treaty, that the Carthaginians were particularly careful to exclude the Romans from all the countries subject to them, as well as from the knowledge of what was transacting in them: as though the Carthaginians, even at that time, took umbrage at the rising power of the Romans, and already harboured in their breast the secret seeds of the jealousy and diffidence, that were one day to burst out in long and cruel wars; and which nothing could extinguish but the ruin of one of the contending powers; so fierce were their mutual hatred and animosity.

‡ Some years after the conclusion of the first treaty, the Carthaginians made an alliance with Xerxes, king of Persia. This prince, who aimed at nothing less than the total extirpation of the Greeks, whom he considered as his irreconcileable enemies, thought it would be impossible for him to succeed in his enterprise, without the assistance of Carthage, whose power made it formidable even at that time. The Carthaginians, who always kept in view the design they entertained of seizing upon the remainder of Sicily, greedily snatched the favourable opportunity which now presented itself for their completing the reduction of it. A treaty was therefore concluded; whereby the Carthaginians were to invade, with all their forces, those Greeks who were settled in Sicily and Italy, during which Xerxes should march in person against Greece itself.

The preparations for this war lasted three years. The land-

* The reason of this restraint, according to Polybius, was, the unwillingness of the Carthaginians to let the Romans have any knowledge of the countries which lay more to the south, in order that this enterprising people might not hear of their fertility. Polyb. l. iii. p. 247. edit. Gronov.

† Polyb. l. iii. p. 246.

‡ A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 484. Diod. l. xi. p. 1, 16, & 22.

army

army amounted to no less than 300,000 men. The fleet consisted of 2000 ships of war, and upwards of 3000 small vessels of burden. Hamilcar, the most experienced captain of his age, sailed from Carthage with this formidable army. He landed at Palermo *, and, after refreshing his troops, he marched against Hymera, a city not far distant from Palermo, and laid siege to it. Theron, who commanded in it, seeing himself very much straitened, sent to Gelon, who had possessed himself of Syracuse. He flew immediately to his relief, with 50,000 foot, and 5000 horse. His arrival infused new courage into the besieged, who, from that time, made a very vigorous defence.

Gelon was an able warrior, and excelled in stratagems. A courier was brought to him, who had been dispatched from Selinuntum with a letter for Hamilcar, to inform him of the day when he might expect the cavalry, which he had demanded of them. Gelon drew out an equal number of his own, and sent them from his camp about the time agreed on. These being admitted into the enemy's camp, as coming from Selinuntum, rushed upon Hamilcar, killed him, and set fire to his ships. In this critical conjuncture, Gelon attacked, with all his forces, the Carthaginians, who at first made a gallant resistance; but when the news of their general's death was brought them, and they saw all their fleet in a blaze, their courage failed them, and they fled. And now a dreadful slaughter ensued, upwards of 150,000 being slain. The rest of the army having retired to a place where they were in want of every thing, could not make a long defence, and so were forced to surrender at discretion. This battle was fought the very day of the famous action of Thermopylæ, in which 300 Spartans †, with the sacrifice of their lives, disputed Xerxes's entrance into Greece.

When the sad news was brought to Carthage, of the entire defeat of the army, consternation, grief, and despair, threw the whole city into such a confusion and alarm as are not to be expressed. It was imagined that the enemy was already at the gates. The Carthaginians, in great reverses of fortune, always lost their courage, and sunk into the opposite extreme. Immediately they sent a deputation to Gelon, by which they desired peace upon any terms. He heard their envoys with great

* This city is called in Latin Panormus.

† Besides the 300 Spartans, the Thessians, a people of Bœotia, to the number of 700, fought and died with Leonidas, in this memorable battle. Herod. l. vii. c. 202—222.

humanity.

humanity. The complete victory he had gained, so far from making him haughty and untractable, had only increased his modesty and clemency even towards the enemy. He therefore granted them a peace, upon no other condition, than their paying 2000 * talents towards the expence of the war. He likewise required them to build two temples, where the treaty of this peace should be deposited, and exposed at all times to public view. The Carthaginians did not think this a dear purchase of a peace, that was so absolutely necessary to their affairs, and which they hardly durst hope for. Gisgo, the son of Hamilcar, pursuant to the unjust custom of the Carthaginians, of ascribing to the general the ill success of a war, and making him suffer for it, was punished for his father's misfortune, and sent into banishment. He passed the remainder of his days at Selinuntum, a city of Sicily.

Gelon, on his return to Syracuse, convened the people, and invited all the citizens to appear under arms. He himself entered the assembly, unarmed and without his guards, and there gave an account of the whole conduct of his life. His speech met with no other interruption but the public testimonies which were given him of gratitude and admiration. So far from being treated as a tyrant and the oppressor of his country's liberty, he was considered as its benefactor and deliverer; all, with an unanimous voice, proclaimed him king; and the crown was bestowed, after his death, on his two brothers.

† After the memorable defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse, where Nicias perished with his whole fleet, the Segestans, who had declared in favour of the Athenians against the Syracusans, fearing the resentment of their enemies, and being attacked by the inhabitants of Selinuntum, implored the aid of the Carthaginians, and put themselves and city under their protection. The last mentioned people debated some time, what course it would be proper for them to take, the affair meeting with great difficulties. On one hand, the Carthaginians were very desirous to possess themselves of a city which lay so convenient for them: on the other, they dreaded the power and forces of Syracuse, which had so lately cut to pieces a numerous army of the Athenians, and become, by so shining a victory, more formidable than ever. At last, the lust of empire prevailed, and the Segestans were promised succours.

* An Attic silver talent, according to Dr. Bernard, is L.206. 5s. consequently 2000 talents is L.412,500.

† A. M. 3592. A. Carth. 434. A. Rom. 336. Ant. J. C. 412.—Diod. l. xiii. p. 169—171. 179—186.

The conduct of this war was committed to Hannibal, who had been invested with the highest dignity of the state, being one of the suffetes. He was grandson to Hamilcar, who had been defeated by Gelon, and killed before Hymera; and son to Gisgo, who had been condemned to exile. He left Carthage, fired with a desire of revenging his family and country, and of wiping away the disgrace of the last defeat. He had a very great army as well as fleet under his command. He landed at a place called the Well of Lilybæum, which gave its name to a city, afterwards built on the same spot. His first enterprise was the siege of Selinuntum. The attack and defence were equally vigorous, the very women shewing a resolution and bravery above their sex. The city, after making a long resistance, was taken by storm, and the plunder of it abandoned to the soldiers. The victor exercised the most horrid cruelties, without shewing the least regard either to age or sex. He permitted such inhabitants as had fled, to continue in the city after it had been dismantled; and to till the lands, on condition of their paying a tribute to the Carthaginians. This city had been built 242 years.

Hymera, which was next besieged by Hannibal, and likewise taken by storm, and more cruelly treated than Selinuntum, was entirely razed, 240 years from its foundation. He forced 3000 prisoners to undergo all kinds of ignominy and punishments, and at last murdered them on the very spot where his grandfather had been killed by Gelon's cavalry; to appease and satisfy his manes, by the blood of these unhappy victims.

These expeditions being ended, Hannibal returned to Carthage, on which occasion the whole city came out to meet him, and received him amidst the most joyful acclamations.

*These successes reinflamed the desire, and revived the design which the Carthaginians had ever entertained, of getting possession of all Sicily. Three years after, they appointed Hannibal their general a second time; and on his pleading his great age, and refusing the command of this war, they gave him for lieutenant, Imilcon, son of Hanno, of the same family. The preparations for this war were equal to the great design which the Carthaginians had formed. The fleet and army were soon ready, and set out for Sicily. The number of their forces, according to Timæus, amounted to above 120,000; and, according to Ephorus, to 300,000 men. The enemy, on their side, had put themselves in a posture of defence, and

* Diod. l. xiii. p. 201—203. 206—211. 226—237.

were

were prepared to give the Carthaginians a warm reception. The Syracuſans had ſent to all their allies, in order to levy forces among them, and to all the cities of Sicily, to exhort them to exert themſelves vigorouſly, in defence of their liberties.

Agrigentum expected to feel the firſt fury of the enemy. This city was prodigiouſly rich *, and ſtrongly fortified. It was ſituated, as were Hymera and Selinuntum, on that coaſt of Sicily which faces Africa. Accordingly, Hannibal opened the campaign with the ſiege of this city. Imagining that it was impregnable except on one ſide, he turned his whole force that way. He threw up banks and terraces as high as the walls, and made uſe, on this occaſion, of the rubbiſh and fragments of the tombs ſtanding round the city, which he had demoliſhed for that purpoſe. Soon after, the plague infected his army, and ſwept away a great number of the ſoldiers, and the general himſelf. The Carthaginians interpreted this diſaſter as a puniſhment inflicted by the gods who revenged in this manner the injuries done to the dead, whoſe ghoſts many fancied they had ſeen ſtalking before them in the night. No more tombs were therefore demoliſhed; prayers were ordered to be made, according to the practice of Carthage; a child was ſacrificed to Saturn, in compliance with a moſt inhumanly-ſuperſtitious cuſtom; and many victims were thrown into the ſea in honour of Neptune.

The beſieged, who at firſt had gained ſome advantages, were at laſt ſo preſſed by famine, that, all hopes of relief ſeeming deſperate, they reſoved to abandon the city. The following night was fixed on for this purpoſe. The reader will na-

* The very ſepulchral monuments ſhewed the magnificence and luxury of this city, they being adorned with ſtatues of birds and horſes. But the wealth and boundleſs generoſity of Gelliar, one of its inhabitants, is almoſt incredible. He entertained the people with ſpectacles and feaſts, and, during a famine, prevented the citizens from dying with hunger: he gave portions to poor maidens, and reſcued the unfortunate from want and deſpair: He had built houſes in the city and the country, purpoſely for the accommodation of ſtrangers, whom he uſually diſmiſſed with handſome preſents. 500 ſhipwrecked citizens of Gela, applying to him, were bountifully relieved, and every man ſupplied with a cloak and a coat out of his wardrobe. Diod. l. xiii. Valer. Max. l. iv. c. ult. Empedocles the philoſopher, born in Agrigentum, has a memorable ſaying concerning his fellow-citizens; that the Agrigentines ſquandered their money ſo exceſſively every day, as if they expected it could never be exhauſted; and built with ſuch ſolidity and magnificence, as if they thought they ſhould live for ever.

turally image to himself the grief with which these miserable people must be seized, on their being forced to leave their houses, rich possessions, and their country; but life was still dearer to them than all these. Never was a more melancholy spectacle seen. To omit the rest, a crowd of women, bathed in tears, were seen dragging after them their helpless infants, in order to secure them from the brutal fury of the victor. But the most grievous circumstance was, the necessity they were under of leaving behind them the aged and sick, who were unable either to fly or to make the least resistance. The unhappy exiles arrived at Gela, which was the nearest city in their way, and there received all the comforts they could expect in the deplorable condition to which they were reduced.

In the mean time Imilcon entered the city, and murdered all who were found in it. The plunder was immensely rich, and such as might be expected from one of the most opulent cities of Sicily, which contained 200,000 inhabitants, and had never been besieged, nor consequently plundered before. A numberless multitude of pictures, vases, and statues of all kinds were found here, the citizens having an exquisite taste for the polite arts. Among other curiosities was the famous bull * of Phalaris, which was sent to Carthage.

The siege of Agrigentum had lasted eight months. Imilcon made his forces take up their winter-quarters in it, to give them the necessary refreshment, and left this city, after laying it entirely in ruins, in the beginning of the spring. He afterwards besieged Gela, and took it, notwithstanding the succours which were brought by Dionysius the tyrant, who had seized upon the government of Syracuse. Imilcon ended the war by a treaty with Dionysius. The articles of it were, that the Carthaginians, besides their ancient acquisitions in Sicily, should still possess the country of the Sicanians †, Selinuntum, Agrigentum, and Hymera; as likewise that of Gela and Camarina, with leave for the inhabitants to reside in their respective dismantled cities, on condition of their paying a tribute to Carthage: that the Leontines, the Messenians, and all the Sicilians, should retain their own laws, and preserve their independence: Lastly, that the Syracusans should still continue subject to Dionysius. After this treaty was concluded, Imilcon returned to Carthage, where the plague still made dreadful havoc.

* This bull, with other spoils here taken, was afterwards restored to the Agrigentines by Scipio, when he took Carthage in the third Punic war. Cic. l. iv. in Verrem, c. 33.

† The Sicanians and Sicilians were anciently two distinct people.

Dionysius

* Dionyſius had concluded the late peace with the Carthaginians, in no other view but to get time to eſtabliſh his new authority, and make the neceſſary preparations for the war which he meditated againſt them. As he was very ſenſible how formidable theſe people were, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to enable himſelf to invade them with ſucceſs; and his deſign was wonderfully well ſeconded by the zeal of his ſubjects. The fame of this prince, the ſtrong deſire he had to diſtinguiſh himſelf, the charms of gain, and the proſpect of the rewards which he promiſed thoſe who ſhould ſhow the greateſt induſtry, invited, from all quarters into Sicily, the moſt able artiſts and workmen at that time in the world. All Syracuſe now became in a manner a common workſhop, in every part of which men were ſeen making ſwords, helmets, ſhields, and military engines; and in preparing all things neceſſary for building ſhips and fitting out fleets. The invention of five benches of oars, or Quinqueremes, was at that time very recent, for till then only three † had been uſed. Dionyſius animated the workmen by his preſence, and by the applauſes he gave, and the bounty which he beſtowed ſeaſonably, but chiefly by his popular and engaging behaviour, which excited more ſtrongly than any other conduct, the induſtry and ardor of the workmen, ‡ the moſt excellent of whom, in every art, had frequently the honour to dine with him.

When all things were ready, and a great number of forces had been levied in different countries, he called the Syracuſans together, laid his deſign before them, and repreſented the Carthaginians as the profeſſed enemies to the Greeks; that they had no leſs in view than the invaſion of all Sicily; the ſubjecting all the Grecian cities; and that, in caſe their progreſs was not checked, the Syracuſans themſelves would ſoon be attacked; that the reaſon why the Carthaginians did not attempt any enterpriſe, and continued inactive, was owing entirely to the dreadful havoc made by the plague among them; which, he obſerved, was a favourable opportunity for the Syracuſans. Though the tyranny and the tyrant were equally odious to Syracuſe, yet the hatred the people in queſtion bore to the Carthaginians prevailed over all other conſiderations; and every one, guided more by the views of an intereſted policy than by the dictates of juſtice, received the ſpeech with applauſe. Upon this, without the leaſt complaint made of treaties violated, or making a declaration of war, Dionyſius gave up to the fury of

* A. M 3600. A. Carth. 442. Rom. 344. Ant. J. C. 404. Dion. L. xiv. p. 268—278. † Triremes. ‡ Honos alit artes.

the populace, the perſons and poſſeſſions of the Carthaginians. Great numbers of them reſided at that time in Syracuſe, and traded there on the faith of treaties. But now the common people ran to their houſes, plundered their effects, and pretended they were ſufficiently authoriſed to exerciſe every ignominy, and inflict every kind of puniſhment on them, for the cruelties they had exerciſed againſt the natives of the country. And this horrid example of perfidy and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole iſland of Sicily. This was the bloody ſignal of the war which was declared againſt them. Dionyſius, having thus begun to do himſelf juſtice, in his way, ſent deputies to Carthage, to require them to reſtore all the Sicilian cities to their liberties, and that otherwiſe, all the Carthaginians found in them ſhould be treated as enemies. This news ſpread a general alarm in Carthage, eſpecially when they reflected on the ſad condition to which they were reduced.

Dionyſius opened the campaign with the ſiege of Motya, which was the magazine of the Carthaginians in Sicily; and he beſieged the town with ſo much vigour, that it was impoſſible for Imilcon, the Carthaginian admiral, to relieve it. He brought forward his engines, battered the place with his battering-rams, advanced towers ſix ſtories high to the wall, rolled upon wheels, and of an equal height with their houſes; from theſe towers he greatly annoyed the beſieged, with furious diſcharges of volleys of arrows and ſtones, ſent from his catapulta's*, an engine at that time of late invention. At laſt, the city, after having made a long and vigorous defence, was taken by ſtorm, and all the inhabitants of it put to the ſword, thoſe excepted who took ſanctuary in the temples. The plunder of it was abandoned to the ſoldiers; and Dionyſius, leaving a ſtrong garriſon and a truſty governor in it, returned to Syracuſe.

†The following year Imilcon, being appointed one of the ſuffetes, returned to Sicily with a far greater army than before. He landed at Palermo‡, took ſeveral cities, and recovered Motya by force of arms. Animated by theſe ſucceſſes, he advanced towards Syracuſe, with deſign to beſiege it; marching his infantry by land; whilſt his fleet, under the command of Mago, ſailed along the coaſt.

The arrival of Imilcon threw the Syracuſans into great

* The curious reader will find a very particular account of it in the ſecond part of the eighth volume of this work.

† Diod. l. xiv. p. 279—295. Juſtin. l. xix. c. 2, 3.

‡ Panormus.

conſternation.

consternation. Above 200 ships, laden with the spoils of the enemy, and advancing in good order, entered in a kind of triumph the great harbour, being followed by 500 barks. At the same time the land army, consisting, according to some authors, of 300,000 foot*, and 3000 horse, was seen marching forward on the other side of the city. Imilcon pitched his tent in the very temple of Jupiter; and the rest of the army encamped at 12 furlongs, or about a mile and a half from the city. Marching up to it, Imilcon offered battle to the inhabitants, who did not care to accept the challenge. Imilcon, satisfied at his having extorted, as it were, from the Syracusans, this confession of their own weakness and his superiority, returned to his camp; not doubting but he should soon be master of the city; considering it already as a certain prey, which could not possibly escape him. For 30 days together, he laid waste the neighbourhood about Syracuse, and ruined the whole country. He possessed himself of the suburb of Acradina, and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpine. To fortify his camp, he beat down the tombs which stood round the city; and, among others, that of Gelon and his wife Demarata, which was prodigiously magnificent.

But these successes were not lasting. All the splendor of this anticipated triumph vanished in a moment, and taught mankind, says the historian†, that the proudest mortal, blasted sooner or later by a superior power, should be forced to confess his own weakness. Whilst Imilcon, now master of almost all the cities of Sicily, expected to finish his conquests by the reduction of Syracuse, a contagious distemper seized his army, and made dreadful havoc in it. It was now the midst of summer, and the heat that year was excessive. The infection began among the Africans, multitudes of whom died, without any possibility of their being relieved. Care was taken at first to inter the dead; but the number increasing daily, and the infection spreading very fast, the dead lay unburied, and the sick could have no assistance. The plague had very uncommon symptoms, such as violent dysenteries, raging fevers, burning entrails, acute pains in every part of the body. The infected were even seized with madness and fury, so that they would fall upon any persons that came in their way, and tear them to pieces.

* Some authors say but 30,000 foot, which is the more probable account, as the fleet which blocked up the town by sea was so formidable.

† Diodorus.

Dionysius

Dionyſius did not loſe this favourable opportunity for attacking the enemy. Imilcon's army, being more than half conquered by the plague, could make but a feeble reſiſtance. The Carthaginian ſhips were almoſt all either taken or burned. The inhabitants in general of Syracuſe, their old men, women, and children, came pouring out of the city, to behold an event which to them appeared miraculous. With hands lifted up to heaven, they thanked the tutelar gods of their city, for having revenged the ſanctity of temples and tombs, which had been ſo brutally violated by theſe Barbarians. Night coming on, both parties retired; when Imilcon, taking the opportunity of this ſhort ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, ſent to Dionyſius, for leave to carry back with him the ſmall remains of his ſhattered army, with an offer of 300 talents*, which was all the ſpecie he had then left. Permiſſion could only be obtained for the Carthaginians, with whom Imilcon ſtole away in the night, and left the reſt to the mercy of the conqueror.

In ſuch unhappy circumſtances did the Carthaginian general, who, a few days before had been ſo proud and haughty, retire from Syracuſe. Bitterly bewailing his own fate, but moſt of all that of his country, he, with the moſt inſolent fury, accuſed the gods as the ſole authors of his misfortunes. "The "enemy," continued he, "may indeed rejoice at our miſery, "but have no reaſon to glory in it. We return victorious over "the Syracuſans, and are only defeated by the plague. No "part," added he, "of the diſaſter touches me ſo much as my "ſurviving ſo many gallant men, and my being reſerved, not "for the comforts of life, but to be the ſport of ſo dire a ca"lamity. However, ſince I have brought back the miſerable "remains of an army which had been committed to my care, I "now have nothing to do, but to follow the brave ſoldiers "who lie dead before Syracuſe; and to ſhow my country, "that I did not ſurvive them out of a fondneſs of life, but "merely to preſerve the troops which had eſcaped the plague "from the fury of the enemy, to which my more early death "would have abandoned them."

Being now arrived in Carthage, which he found overwhelmed with grief and deſpair, he entered his houſe, ſhut his doors againſt the citizens, and even his own children; and then gave himſelf the fatal ſtroke, in compliance with a practice to which the heathens falſely gave the name of courage, though it was in reality no other than a cowardly deſpair.

* About L.61,800 Engliſh money.

But

But the calamities of this unhappy city did not ſtop here; for the Africans, who from time immemorial had bore an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians, being now exaſperated to fury, becauſe their countrymen had been left behind, and expoſed to the murdering ſword of the Syracuſans, aſſemble in the moſt frantic manner, ſound the alarm, take up arms, and, after ſeizing upon Tunis, march directly to Carthage, to the number of more than 200,000 men. The citizens now gave themſelves up for loſt. This new incident was conſidered by them as the ſad effect of the wrath of the gods, which purſued the guilty wretches even to Carthage. As its inhabitants, eſpecially in all public calamities, carried their ſuperſtition to the greateſt exceſs, their firſt care was to appeaſe the offended gods. Ceres and Proſerpine were deities, who, till that time, had never been heard of in Africa. But now, to atone for the outrage which had been done them, in the plundering of their temples, magnificent ſtatues were erected to their honour; prieſts were ſelected from among the moſt diſtinguiſhed families of the city; ſacrifices and victims, according to the Greek ritual, if I may uſe that expreſſion, were offered up to them; in a word, nothing was omitted which could be thought conducive in any manner to appeaſe the angry goddeſſes, and to merit their favour. After this, the defence of the city was the next object of their care. Happily for the Carthaginians, this numerous army had no leader, but was like a body uninformed with a ſoul; no proviſions or military engines, no diſcipline, or ſubordination were ſeen among them: every man ſetting himſelf up for a general, or claiming an independence from the reſt. Diviſions, therefore, ariſing in this rabble of an army, and the famine increaſing daily, the individuals of it withdrew to their reſpective homes, and delivered Carthage from a dreadful alarm.

The Carthaginians were not diſcouraged by their late diſaſter, but continued their enterpriſes on Sicily. Mago, their general, and one of the ſuffetes, loſt a great battle, and his life. And now the Carthaginian chiefs demanded a peace, which accordingly was granted, on condition of their evacuating all Sicily, and defraying the expences of the war. They pretended to accept the peace on the terms it was offered; but repreſenting, that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities, without firſt obtaining an order from their republic, they obtained ſo long a truce, as gave them time ſufficient for ſending to Carthage. During this interval, they raiſed and diſciplined new troops, over which Mago, ſon of him who had been

lately

lately killed, was appointed general. He was very young, but of great abilities and reputation. Mago arrived in Sicily, and at the expiration of the truce, he gave Dionyſius battle; in which Leptinus*, one of the generals of the latter, was killed, and upwards of 14,000 Syracuſans left dead in the field. By this victory the Carthaginians obtained an honourable peace, which left them in the poſſeſſion of all they had in Sicily, with even the addition of ſome ſtrong-holds; beſides 1000 talents†, which were for defraying the expences of the war.

‡About this time a law was enacted at Carthage, by which its inhabitants were forbid to learn to write or ſpeak the Greek language; in order to deprive them of the means of correſponding with the enemy, either by word of mouth, or in writing. This was occaſioned by the treachery of a Carthaginian, who had writ in Greek to Dionyſius, to give him advice of the departure of the army from Carthage.

§Carthage had ſoon after another calamity to ſtruggle with. The plague got into the city, and made terrible havoc. Panic terrors, and violent fits of frenzy, ſeized on a ſudden the heads of the diſtempered; who ſallying, ſword in hand, out of their houſes, as if the enemy had taken the city, killed or wounded all who unhappily came in their way. The Africans and Sardinians would very willingly have taken this opportunity to ſhake off a yoke which was ſo hateful to them; but both were ſubjected and reduced to their allegiance. Dionyſius formed at this time an enterpriſe, in Sicily, in the ſame views, which was equally unſucceſsful. He died ‖ ſome time after, and was ſucceeded by his ſon of the ſame name.

We have already taken notice of the firſt treaty which the

* This Leptinus was brother to Dionyſius.

† About L.206,000.

‡ Juſtin. l. xx. c. 5. § Diod. l. xv. p. 344.

‖ This is the Dionyſius who invited Plato to his court; and who, being afterwards offended with his freedom, ſold him for a ſlave. Some philoſophers came from Greece to Syracuſe, in order to redeem their brother, which having done, they ſent him home with this uſeful leſſon: That philoſophers ought very rarely, or very obligingly, to converſe with tyrants. This prince had learning, and affected to paſs for a poet; but could not gain that name at the Olympic games, whither he had ſent his verſes, to be repeated by his brother Thearides. It had been happy for Dionyſius, had the Athenians entertained no better an opinion of his poetry; for on their pronouncing him victor, when his poems were repeated in their city, he was raiſed to ſuch a tranſport of joy and intemperance, that both together killed him; and thus, perhaps, was verified the prediction of the oracle, viz. that he ſhould die when he had overcome his betters.

Carthaginians concluded with the Romans. There was another, which, according to Oroſius, was concluded in the 402d year of the foundation of Rome, and conſequently about the time we are now ſpeaking of. This ſecond treaty was very near the ſame with the firſt, except that the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica were expreſsly comprehended in it, and joined with the Carthaginians.

*After the death of the elder Dionyſius, Syracuſe was involved in great troubles. Dionyſius the younger, who had been expelled, reſtored himſelf by force of arms, and exerciſed great cruelties there. One part of the citizens implored the aid of Icetes, tyrant of the Leontines, and by deſcent a Syracuſan. This ſeemed a very favourable opportunity for the Carthaginians to ſeize upon all Sicily, and accordingly they ſent a mighty fleet thither. In this extremity, ſuch of the Syracuſans as loved their country beſt, had recourſe to the Corinthians; who had often aſſiſted them in their dangers, and were, of all the Grecian nations, the moſt profeſſed enemies to tyranny, and the moſt avowed and moſt generous aſſertors of liberty. Accordingly, the Corinthians ſent over Timoleon, a man of great merit, and who had ſignalized his zeal for the public welfare, by freeing his country from tyranny, at the expence of his own family. He ſet ſail with only 10 ſhips, and arriving at Rhegium, he eluded, by a happy ſtratagem, the vigilance of the Carthaginians; who, having been informed by Icetes of his voyage and deſign, wanted to intercept his paſſage to Sicily.

Timoleon had ſcarce above a thouſand ſoldiers under his command; and yet, with this handful of men, he advanced boldly to the relief of Syracuſe. His ſmall army increaſed perpetually as he marched. The Syracuſans were now in a deſperate condition, and quite hopeleſs. They ſaw the Carthaginians maſters of the port; Icetes of the city; and Dionyſius of the citadel. Happily, on Timoleon's arrival, Dionyſius, having no refuge left, put the citadel into his hands, with all the forces, arms, and ammunition in it, and eſcaped by his aſſiſtance to Corinth†. Timoleon had, by his emiſſaries, re-

preſented

* A. M. 3656. A. Carth. 408. A. Rom. 400. Ant. J. C. 348. Diod. l. xvi. p. 252. Polyb. l. iii. p. 178. Plut. in Timol.

† Here he preſerved ſome reſemblance of his former tyranny, by turning ſchoolmaſter, and exerciſing a diſcipline over boys, when he could no longer tyranniſe over men. He had learning, and was once a ſcholar to Plato, whom he cauſed to come again into Sicily, notwithſtanding

preſented artfully to the foreign forces in Mago's army, which, by an error in the conſtitution of Carthage before taken notice of, was chiefly compoſed of ſuch, and even the greateſt part of theſe were Greeks, that it was aſtoniſhing to ſee Greeks uſing their endeavour to make barbarians maſters of Sicily, from whence they, in a very little time, would paſs over into Greece: for could they imagine, that the Carthaginians were come ſo far, in no other view but to eſtabliſh Icetes tyrant of Syracuſe? Such diſcourſes being ſpread among Mago's ſoldiers, gave this general very great uneaſineſs; and, as he wanted only a pretence to retire, he was glad to have it believed, that his forces were going to betray and deſert him; and upon this, he ſailed with his fleet out of the harbour, and ſteered for Carthage. Icetes, after his departure, could not hold out long againſt the Corinthians, ſo that they now got entire poſſeſſion of the whole city.

Mago, on his arrival at Carthage, was impeached; but he prevented the execution of the ſentence paſſed upon him by a voluntary death. His body was hung upon a gallows, and expoſed as a public ſpectacle to the people. * New forces were levied at Carthage, and a greater and more powerful fleet than the former was ſent to Sicily. It conſiſted of 200 ſhips of war, beſides 1000 tranſports; and the army amounted to upwards of 70,000 men. They landed at Lilybæum under the command of Hamilcar and Hannibal, and reſolved to attack the Corinthians firſt. Timoleon did not wait for, but marched out to meet them. And now, ſuch was the conſternation of Syracuſe, that, of all the forces which were in that city, only 3000 Syracuſans, and 4000 mercenaries followed him; and 1000 of the latter deſerted upon the march, out of fear of the danger they were going to encounter. Timoleon, however, was not diſcouraged, but exhorting the remainder of his forces to exert themſelves courageouſly for the ſafety and liberties of their allies, he led them againſt the enemy, whoſe rendezvous he had been informed was on the banks of the little river Crimiſa. It appeared at the firſt reflection an

ing the unworthy treatment he had met with from Dionyſius's father. Philip, king of Macedon, meeting him in the ſtreets at Corinth, and aſking him how he came to loſe ſo conſiderable a principality as had been left him by his father, he anſwered, That his father had indeed left him the inheritance, but not the fortune which had preſerved both himſelf and that.—However, fortune did him no great injury, in replacing him on the dunghill, from which ſhe had raiſed his father.

* Plut. p. 248—250.

inexcuſable

inexcusable folly to attack an army so numerous as that of the enemy, with only 4 or 5000 foot, and 1000 horse: but Timoleon, who knew that bravery, conducted by prudence, is superior to number, relied on the courage of his soldiers, who seemed resolved to die rather than yield, and with ardour demanded to be led against the enemy. The event justified his views and hopes. A battle was fought; the Carthaginians were routed, and upwards of 10,000 of them slain, full 3000 of whom were Carthaginian citizens, which filled their city with mourning and the greatest consternation. Their camp was taken, and with it immense riches, and a great number of prisoners.

* Timoleon, at the same time that he dispatched the news of this victory to Corinth, sent thither the finest arms found among the plunder; for he was passionately desirous of having his city applauded and admired by all men, when they should see that Corinth only, among all the Grecian cities, adorned its finest temples, not with the spoils of Greece, and offerings dyed in the blood of its citizens, and thereby fit only to preserve the sad remembrance of their losses, but with those of the Barbarians, which, by fine inscriptions, displayed at once the courage and religious gratitude of those who had won them. For these inscriptions imported, "That the Corin-"thians, and Timoleon their general, after having freed the "Greeks settled in Sicily from the Carthaginian yoke, had "hung up these arms in their temples, as an eternal acknow-"ledgment of the favour and goodness of the gods."

After this, Timoleon leaving the mercenary troops in the Carthaginian territories, to waste and destroy them, returned to Syracuse. On his arrival there, he banished the 1000 soldiers who had deserted him, and took no other revenge, than the commanding them to leave Syracuse before sun-set.

After this victory gained by the Corinthians, they took a great many cities, which obliged the Carthaginians to sue for peace.

As all appearances of success made the Carthaginians vigorously exert themselves, to raise powerful armies both by land and sea, and behave with insolence and cruelty in prosperity, in like manner their courage would sink in unforeseen adversities, their hopes of new resources vanish, and their groveling souls condescend to ask quarter of the most inconsiderable enemy, and shamefully accept the hardest and most mortifying conditions. Those now imposed were, that they should pos-

* Plut. 248—250.

ſeſs only the lands lying beyond the river Halycus* ; that they ſhould give all the natives free liberty to retire to Syracuſe with their families and effects ; and that they ſhould neither continue in the alliance, nor hold any correſpondence with the tyrants of that city.

About this time, in all probability, there happened at Carthage a memorable incident, related by † Juſtin. Hanno, one of its moſt powerful citizens, formed a deſign of ſeizing upon the republic, by deſtroying the whole ſenate. He choſe for the execution of this bloody ſcene, the day on which his daughter was to be married, on which occaſion he deſigned to invite the ſenators to an entertainment, and there poiſon them all. The conſpiracy was diſcovered ; but Hanno had ſuch credit, that the government did not dare to puniſh ſo execrable a crime : the magiſtrates contented themſelves with only preventing it, by an order which forbad, in general, too great a magnificence at weddings, and ſettled the expence on theſe occaſions. Hanno, ſeeing his ſtratagem defeated, reſolved to employ open force, and for that purpoſe armed all the ſlaves. However, he was again diſcovered ; and, to eſcape puniſhment, retired with 20,000 armed ſlaves, to a caſtle that was very ſtrongly fortified ; and there endeavoured, but without ſucceſs, to engage in his rebellion the Africans, and the king of Mauritania. He afterwards was taken priſoner and carried to Carthage, where, after being whipped, his eyes were put out, his arms and thighs broke, his life taken away in the preſence of the people, and his body, all torn with ſtripes, hung on a gibbet. His children, and all his relations, though they had not joined in his guilt, ſhared his puniſhment. They were all ſentenced to die, in order that not a ſingle perſon of his family might be left, either to imitate his crime or revenge his death. Such was the genius and caſt of mind of the Carthaginians. Ever ſevere and violent in their puniſhments, they carried them to the extremes of rigour, and made them extend even to the innocent, without ſhewing the leaſt regard to equity, moderation, or gratitude.

‡ I come now to the wars ſuſtained by the Carthaginians, in Africa itſelf, as well as in Sicily, againſt Agathocles, which exerciſed their arms during ſeveral years.

This Agathocles was a Sicilian, of obſcure birth, and low

* This river is not far from Agrigentum. It is called Lycus by Diodorus and Plutarch ; but this is thought a miſtake.

† Lib. xxi. c. 4. ‡ A. M. 3685. A. Carth. 527. A. Rom 429. Ant. J. C. 319. Diod. l. xix. p. 651—656—710—712—737—743—760. Juſtin. l. ii. c. 1—6.

fortune.

fortune *. Supported at firſt by the power of the Carthaginians, he invaded the ſovereignty of Syracuſe, and made himſelf tyrant over it. In the infancy of his power the Carthaginians kept him within bounds, and Hamilcar their chief forced him to agree to a peace, which reſtored tranquillity to Sicily. But he ſoon infringed the articles of it, and declared war againſt the Carthaginians themſelves, who, under the conduct of Hamilcar, obtained a ſignal victory over him †, and forced him to ſhut himſelf up in Syracuſe. The Carthaginians purſued him thither, and laid ſiege to that important city, which, if they could have taken, would have given them the poſſeſſion of all Sicily.

Agathocles, whoſe forces were greatly inferior to theirs, and who ſaw himſelf deſerted by all his allies, from their abhorrence of his horrid cruelties, meditated a deſign of ſo daring, and (to all appearance) ſo impracticable a nature, that even ſucceſs could hardly gain it belief. This deſign was no leſs than to make Africa the ſeat of the war, and to beſiege Carthage, at a time when he could neither defend himſelf in Sicily, nor ſuſtain the ſiege of Syracuſe. His profound ſecrecy in the execution is as aſtoniſhing as the deſign itſelf. He communicated his thoughts on this affair to no perſon whatſoever, but contented himſelf with declaring, that he had found out an infallible way to free the Syracuſans from the dangers that ſurrounded them; that they would be but a little incommoded with a ſhort ſiege; but that thoſe, who could not bring themſelves to this reſolution, might freely depart the city. Only 1600 perſons quitted it. He left his brother Antander there, with forces and proviſions ſufficient for him to make a ſtout defence. He ſet at liberty all the ſlaves who were of age to bear arms, and, after obliging them to take an oath, joined them to his forces. He carried with him only 50 talents ‡ to ſupply his preſent wants; well aſſured, that he

* He was, according to moſt hiſtorians, the ſon of a potter; but all allow him to have worked at that trade. From the obſcurity of his birth and condition, Polybius raiſes an argument to prove his capacity and talents, in oppoſition to the ſlanders of Timæus. But his greateſt eulogium was the praiſe of Scipio. That illuſtrious Roman being aſked, who, in his opinion, were the moſt prudent in the conduct of their affairs, and moſt judiciouſly bold in the execution of their deſigns, anſwered, Agathocles and Dionyſius. Polyb. l. xv. p. 1003. edit. Gronov. However, let his capacity have been ever ſo great, it was exceeded by his cruelties.

† The battle was fought near the river and city of Hymera.

‡ 50,000 French crowns, or L.11,250 Sterling.

ſhould find in the enemy's country, whatever was neceſſary to his ſubſiſtence. He therefore ſet ſail with two of his ſons, Archagathus and Heraclides, without letting one perſon know whither he intended his courſe. All who were on board his fleet believed that they were to be conducted either to Italy or Sardinia, in order to plunder thoſe countries, or to lay waſte thoſe coaſts of Sicily which belonged to Carthage. The Carthaginians, ſurpriſed at ſo unexpected a departure of the fleet, endeavoured to prevent it; but Agathocles eluded their purſuit, and made for the main ocean.

He did not diſcover his deſign till he was got into Africa. There aſſembling his troops, he told them, in few words, the motives which had prompted him to this expedition. He repreſented, that the only way to free their country was to carry the war among their enemies: That he led them, who were inured to war, and of intrepid diſpoſitions, againſt a parcel of enemies who were ſoftened and enervated by eaſe and luxury: That the natives of the country, oppreſſed with the equally cruel and ignominious yoke of ſervitude, would run in crowds to join them on the firſt news of their arrival: That the boldneſs of their attempt would entirely diſconcert the Carthaginians, who were altogether unprepared to repel an enemy at their gates: In fine, that no enterpriſe could poſſibly be more advantageous or honourable than this; ſince the whole wealth of Carthage would become the prey of the victors, whoſe courage would be praiſed and admired by lateſt poſterity. The ſoldiers fancied themſelves already maſters of Carthage, and received his ſpeech with applauſe and acclamations. One circumſtance only gave them uneaſineſs, and that was an eclipſe of the ſun happening juſt as they were ſetting ſail. In theſe ages even the moſt civilized and learned nations underſtood very little the reaſon of theſe extraordinary phænomena of nature; and uſed to draw from them, by their ſoothſayers, ſuperſtitious and arbitrary conjectures, which frequently would either ſuſpend or haſten the moſt important enterpriſes. However, Agathocles revived the drooping courage of his ſoldiers, by aſſuring them that theſe eclipſes always foretold ſome inſtant change: That, therefore, happineſs was taking its leave of Carthage, and coming over to them.

Finding his ſoldiers in the good diſpoſition he wiſhed them, he executed, almoſt at the ſame time, a ſecond enterpriſe, which was more daring and hazardous than even his firſt (*viz.* his carrying them over into Africa), and this was the burning every ſhip in his fleet. Many reaſons determined him to ſo deſperate an action. He had not one good harbour in Africa where

where his ships could lie in safety. As the Carthaginians were masters of the sea, they would not have failed to possess themselves immediately of his fleet, which was incapable of making the least resistance. In case he had left as many hands as were necessary to defend it, he would have weakened his army, which was inconsiderable at the best, and put it out of his power to make any advantage from this unexpected diversion, the success of which depended entirely on the swiftness and vigour of the execution. Lastly, he was desirous of putting his soldiers under a necessity of conquering, by leaving them no other refuge but victory. A prodigious courage was necessary, to work up his army to such a resolution. He had already prepared all his officers, who were entirely devoted to his service, and received every impression he gave them. He then came suddenly into the assembly, with a crown upon his head, dressed in a magnificent habit, and, with the air and behaviour of a man who was going to perform some religious ceremony, and addressing himself to the assembly, "When we," says he, "left Syracuse, and were warmly pursued by the enemy, in "this fatal necessity I applied myself to Ceres and Proserpine, "the tutelar divinities in Sicily, and promised, that if they "would free us from this imminent danger, I would burn all "our ships in their honour, at our first landing here. Aid me, "therefore, O soldiers, to discharge my vows; for the god-"desses can easily make us amends for this sacrifice." At the same time, taking a flambeau in his hand, he hastily led the way, and, flying on board his own ship, set it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were cheerfully followed by the soldiers. The trumpets sounded from every quarter, and the whole army echoed with joyful shouts and acclamations. The fleet was soon consumed. The soldiers had not been allowed time to reflect on the proposal made to them. They all had been hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardour: but when they had a little recovered their reason, and surveying in their minds the vast ocean which separated them from their own country, saw themselves in that of the enemy, without the least resource, or any means of escaping out of it; a sad and melancholy silence succeeded the transport of joy and acclamations, which, but a moment before, had been so general in the army.

Here again Agathocles left no time for reflection. He marched his army towards a place called the Great City, which was part of the domain of Carthage. The country through which they marched to this place, afforded the most delicious

and agreeable prospect in the world. On either side were seen large meads watered by beautiful streams, and covered with innumerable flocks of all kinds of cattle; country seats built with extraordinary magnificence; delightful avenues planted with olive and all sorts of fruit trees; gardens of a prodigious extent, and kept with a care and elegance which gave the eye a sensible pleasure. This prospect re-animated the soldiers. They marched full of courage to the great city, which they took sword in hand, and enriched themselves with the plunder of it, which was entirely abandoned to them. Tunis, which was not far distant from Carthage, made as little resistance.

The Carthaginians were in prodigious alarm, when it was known that the enemy was in the country, advancing by hasty marches. The arrival of Agathocles made the Carthaginians conclude, that their army before Syracuse had been defeated, and their fleet lost. The people ran in disorder to the great square of the city, whilst the senate assembled in haste and in a tumultuous manner. Immediately they deliberated on the means for preserving the city. They had no army in readiness to oppose the enemy; and their imminent danger did not permit them to wait the arrival of those forces which might be raised in the country and among the allies. It was therefore resolved, after several different opinions had been heard, to arm the citizens. The number of the forces thus levied, amounted to 40,000 foot, 1000 horse, and 2000 armed chariots. Hanno and Bomilcar, though divided betwixt themselves by some family quarrels, were, however, joined in the command of these troops. They marched immediately to meet the enemy, and, on sight of them, drew up their forces in order of battle. *Agathocles had, at most, but 13 or 14,000 men. The signal was given, and an obstinate fight ensued. Hanno, with his sacred cohort, the flower of the Carthaginian forces, long sustained the fury of the Greeks, and sometimes broke their ranks; but, at last, overwhelmed with a shower of stones, and covered with wounds, he fell sword in hand. Bomilcar might have changed the face of things; but he had private and personal reasons not to obtain a victory for his country. He therefore thought proper to retire with the forces under his

* Agathocles wanting arms for many of his soldiers, provided them with such as were counterfeit, which looked well at a distance. And perceiving the discouragement his forces were under, on sight of the enemy's horse, he let fly a great many owls, privately procured for that purpose, which his soldiers interpreted as an omen and assurance of victory. Diod. ad Ann. 3. Olymp. 117.

command,

command, and was followed by the whole army, which, by that means, was forced to leave the field to Agathocles. After purſuing the enemy ſome time, he returned, and plundered the Carthaginian camp. Twenty thouſand pair of manacles were found in it, with which the Carthaginians had furniſhed themſelves, in the firm perſuaſion of their taking many priſoners. By this victory, they had an opportunity of taking a great number of ſtrong-holds, and many Africans joined the victor.

*This deſcent of Agathocles into Africa doubtleſs hinted to Scipio the deſign of making a like attempt upon the ſame republic, and from the ſame place: wherefore, in his anſwer to Fabius, who aſcribed to temerity his deſign of making Africa the ſeat of the war, he forgot not to mention Agathocles as an inſtance in favour of his enterpriſe; and to ſhow, that frequently there is no other way to get rid of an enemy, who preſſes too cloſely upon us, than by carrying the war into his own country; and that men are much more courageous, when they act upon the offenſive, than when they ſtand only upon the defenſive.

†While the Carthaginians were thus warmly attaked by their enemies, ambaſſadors came to them from Tyre. They came to implore their ſuccour againſt Alexander the Great, who was upon the point of taking their city, which he had long beſieged. The extremity to which their countrymen (for ſo they called them) were reduced, touched the Carthaginians as ſenſibly as their own danger. Though they were unable to relieve, they at leaſt thought it their duty to comfort them; and ſending 30 of their principal citizens, by theſe deputies they expreſſed their grief, that they could not ſpare them any troops, becauſe of the preſent melancholy ſituation of their own affairs. The Tyrians, though diſappointed of the only hope they had left, did not however deſpond. They committed their wives, children‡, and old men, to the care of theſe deputies; when, being delivered from all inquietude with regard to perſons who were dearer to them than any thing in the world, they had no thoughts but of making a reſolute defence, prepared for the worſt that might happen. Carthage received this afflicted company with all poſſible marks of amity, and paid to gueſts who were ſo dear and worthy of compaſſion,

* Liv. l. xxviii. n. 43.

† Diod l. xvii. p. 519. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 3.

‡ Τῶν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν μέρος, ſome of their wives and children. Diod. l. xvii—xli.

all

all the services which they could have expected from the most affectionate and tender parents.

Quintus Curtius places this embassy from Tyre to the Carthaginians at the same time that the Syracusans ravaged Africa, and were before Carthage. But the expedition of Agathocles against Africa cannot agree in time with the siege of Tyre, which was 20 years before it.

At the same time this city was solicitous how to extricate itself from the difficulties with which it was surrounded. The present unhappy state of the republic was considered as the effect of the wrath of the gods: And it was acknowledged to be justly deserved, particularly with regard to two deities, to whom the Carthaginians had been wanting with respect to duties prescribed by their religion, and which had once been observed with great exactness. It was a custom, coeval with the city itself, in Carthage, to send annually to Tyre, the mother-city, the tenth of all the revenues of the republic, as an offering to Hercules, the patron and protector of both Tyre and Carthage. The domain, and consequently the revenues of Carthage, having increased considerably, the portion or share, on the contrary, of the god, had been lessened; and they were far from remitting the whole tenth to him. They were seized with a scruple: they made an open and public confession of their insincerity, and sacrilegious avarice; and, to expiate their guilt, they sent to Tyre a great number of presents, and small shrines of their deities, all of gold, which amounted to a prodigious value.

Another violation of religion, which to their inhuman superstition seemed as flagrant as the former, gave them no less uneasiness. Anciently, children of the best families in Carthage used to be sacrificed to Saturn. Here they reproached themselves with a failure of paying to the god the honours which they thought were due to him, and of fraud and dishonest dealing with regard to him, by their having substituted, in their sacrifices, children of slaves or beggars, bought for that purpose, in the room of those nobly born. To expiate the guilt of so horrid an impiety, a sacrifice was made, to the bloody god, of 200 children of the first rank; and upwards of 300 persons, in a sense of this terrible neglect, offered themselves voluntarily as victims, to pacify, by the effusion of their blood, the wrath of the gods.

After these expiations, expresses were dispatched to Hamilcar in Sicily, with the news of what had happened in Africa, and, at the same time, to request immediate succours. The deputies

deputies were commanded not to mention the victory of Agathocles, but ſpread a contrary report, that he had been entirely defeated, his forces all cut off, and his whole fleet taken by the Carthaginians; and, in confirmation of this report, he ſhewed the irons of the veſſels pretended to be taken, which had been carefully ſent to him. The truth of this report was not at all doubted in Syracuſe; the majority were for capitulating*; when a galley of thirty oars, built in haſte by Agathocles, arrived in the port, and through great difficulties and dangers forced its way to the beſieged. The news of Agathocles's victory immediately flew through the city, and reſtored life and reſolution to the inhabitants. Hamilcar made a laſt effort to ſtorm the city, but was beat off with loſs. He then raiſed the ſiege, and ſent 5000 men to the relief of his diſtreſſed country. †Some time after, being returned to the ſiege, and hoping to ſurpriſe the Syracuſans, by attacking them in the night, his deſign was diſcovered; and, falling alive into the enemy's hands, was put to death‡. Hamilcar's head was ſent immediately to Agathocles, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, threw it into a general conſternation, by ſhewing the head of this general, which manifeſted the melancholy ſituation of their affairs in Sicily.

§To theſe foreign enemies was joined a domeſtic one, which was more to be feared, as being more dangerous than the others; this was Bomilcar their general, who was then in poſſeſſion of the firſt employment in Carthage. He had long meditated how to make himſelf tyrant, and attain the ſovereignty of Carthage, and imagined, that the preſent troubles offered him the wiſhed-for opportunity. He therefore entered the city with this ambitious view; when, being ſeconded by a ſmall number of citizens, who were the accomplices of this rebellion, and a body of foreign ſoldiers, he proclaimed

* And the moſt forward of all the reſt, was Antander, the brother of Agathocles, left commander in his abſence; who was ſo terrified with the report, that he was eager for having the city ſurrendered; and expelled out of it 8000 inhabitants, who were of a contrary opinion.

† Diod. p. 767—769.

‡ He was cruelly tortured till he died, and ſo met with the fate which his fellow-citizens, offended at his conduct in Sicily, had probably allotted for him at home. He was too formidable to be attacked at the head of his army, and therefore the votes of the ſenate, whatever they were, being, according to cuſtom, caſt into a veſſel, it was immediately cloſed, with an order not to uncover it, till he was returned, and had thrown up his commiſſion. Juſtin. l. xxii. c. 3.

§ Diod. p. 779—781. Juſtin. l, xxii. c. 3.

himſelf

himſelf tyrant, and made himſelf literally ſuch, by cutting the throats of all the citizens whom he met with in the ſtreets. A tumult ariſing immediately in the city, it was at firſt thought that the enemy had taken it by ſome treachery; but when it was known that Bomilcar cauſed all this diſturbance, the young men took up arms to repel the tyrant, and from the tops of the houſes diſcharged whole vollies of darts and ſtones upon the heads of his ſoldiers. When he ſaw an army marching in order againſt him, he retired with his troops to an eminence, with deſign to make a vigorous defence, and to ſell his life as dear as poſſible. To ſpare the blood of the citizens, a general pardon was proclaimed for all who would lay down their arms. They ſurrendered upon this proclamation, and all enjoyed the benefit of it, Bomilcar their chief excepted; for he, notwithſtanding the general indemnity promiſed by oath, was condemned to die, and fixed to a croſs, where he ſuffered the moſt exquiſite torments. From the croſs, as from a roſtrum, he harangued the people, and thought himſelf juſtly impowered to reproach them for their injuſtice, their ingratitude, and perfidy, which he did in an hiſtorical deduction of many illuſtrious generals, whoſe ſervices they had rewarded with an ignominious death. He expired on the croſs amidſt theſe reproaches *.

† Agathocles had won over to his intereſt a powerful king of Cyrene, named Ophellas, whoſe ambition he had flattered with the moſt ſplendid hopes, and artful inſinuations, *viz.* by ſaying, that, contenting himſelf with Sicily, he would leave to Ophellas the empire of Africa. But, as Agathocles did not ſcruple to commit the moſt horrid crimes, to promote his ambition and intereſt, the credulous prince had no ſooner put himſelf and his army in his power, than, by the blackeſt perfidy, he was murdered by him, in order that Ophelas's army might be entirely at his devotion. Many nations were now joined in alliance with Agathocles, and ſeveral ſtrong-holds had admitted his garriſons. He ſaw the affairs of Africa in a flouriſhing condition, and therefore thought it proper to look after thoſe of Sicily: accordingly he ſailed back thither, and left his African army to the care of his ſon Archagathus. His

* It would ſeem incredible, that any man could ſo far triumph over the pains of the croſs, as to talk with any coherence in his diſcourſe, had not Seneca aſſured us, that ſome have ſo far deſpiſed and inſulted its tortures, that they ſpit contemptuouſly upon the ſpectators. "Quidam ex patibulo ſuos ſpectatores conſpuerunt. De vita beata, c. 19.

† Diod. p. 777—779—791—802. Juſtin. l. xxii. c. 7, 8.

renown,

renown, and the report of his victories, flew before him. On the news of his arrival in Sicily, many towns revolted to him; but bad news soon recalled him to Africa. His absence had quite changed the face of things; and all his arts and endeavours were incapable of restoring them to their former condition. All his strong-holds had surrendered to the enemy: the Africans had deserted him: some of his troops were lost, and the remainder unable to make head against the Carthaginians: a circumstance that was still worse, he had no way to transport them into Sicily, the enemy being masters at sea, and himself unprovided of ships: he could not hope for either peace or treaty with the Barbarians, since he had insulted them in so outrageous a manner, by his being the first who had dared to make a descent in their country. In this extremity, he thought only of providing for his own safety. After meeting with a variety of adventures, this base deserter of his army, and perfidious betrayer of his own children, who were left by him to the wild fury of his disappointed soldiers, stole away from the dangers which hung over him, and arrived at Syracuse with very few persons. His soldiers, seeing themselves thus betrayed, murdered his sons, and surrendered to the enemy. Himself died miserably soon after, and ended, by a cruel death*, a life that had been polluted with the blackest crimes.

† In this period may be placed another incident related by Justin. The fame of Alexander's conquests made the Carthaginians fear, that he, very probably, might think of turning his arms towards Africa. The disastrous fate of Tyre, whence they drew their origin, and which he had so lately destroyed; the building of Alexandria upon the confines of Africa and Egypt, as if he intended it as a rival city to Carthage; the uninterrupted successes of that prince, whose ambition and good fortune were boundless; all this justly alarmed the Carthaginians. To sound his inclinations, Hamilcar, surnamed Rhodanus, pretending to have been drove from his country by the cabals of his enemies, went over to the camp of Alexander, to whom he was introduced by Parmenio, and offered him his

* He was poisoned by one Mænon, whom he had unnaturally abused. His teeth were putrified by the violence of the poison, and his body tortured all over with the most racking pains. Mænon was excited to this deed by Archagathus, grandson of Agathocles, whom he designed to defeat of the succession, in favour of his other son Agathocles. Before his death, he restored the democracy to the people. It is observable, that Justin, or rather Trogus, and Diodorus disagree in all the material parts of this tyrant's history.

† Justin. l. xxi. c. 6.

services.

ſervices. The king received him graciouſly, and had ſeveral conferences with him. Hamilcar did not fail to tranſmit to his country whatever diſcoveries he made from time to time of Alexander's deſigns. Nevertheleſs, on his return to Carthage, after Alexander's death, he was conſidered as a betrayer of his country to that prince, and accordingly was put to death by a ſentence, which diſplayed equally the ingratitude and cruelty of his countrymen.

* I am now to ſpeak of the wars of the Carthaginians in Sicily, in the time of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. The Romans, to whom the deſigns of that ambitious prince were not unknown, to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt any attempts he might make upon Italy, had renewed their treaties with the Carthaginians, who, on their ſide, were no leſs afraid of his croſſing into Sicily. To the articles of preceding treaties, there was added an engagement of mutual aſſiſtance, in caſe either of the contracting powers ſhould be attacked by Pyrrhus.

† The foreſight of the Romans was very juſt; for Pyrrhus turned his arms againſt Italy, and gained many victories. The Carthaginians, in conſequence of the laſt treaty, thought themſelves obliged to aſſiſt the Romans, and accordingly ſent them a fleet of ſixſcore ſail, under the command of Mago. This general, in an audience before the ſenate, ſignified to them the concern his ſuperiors took in the war, which they heard was carrying on againſt the Romans, and offered them their aſſiſtance. The ſenate returned thanks for the obliging offer of the Carthaginians, but at preſent thought fit to decline it.

‡ Mago, ſome days after, repaired to Pyrrhus, upon pretence of offering the mediation of Carthage for terminating his quarrel with the Romans; but in reality to ſound him, and diſcover, if poſſible, his deſigns with regard to Sicily, which common fame reported he was going to invade. They were afraid that either Pyrrhus or the Romans would interfere in the affairs of that iſland, and tranſport forces thither for the conqueſt of it. And indeed the Syracuſans, who had been beſieged for ſome time by the Carthaginians, had ſent preſſingly for ſuccour to Pyrrhus. This prince had a particular reaſon to eſpouſe their intereſts, having married Lanaſſa, daughter of Agathocles, by whom he had a ſon named Alexander. He at laſt ſailed from Tarentum, paſſed the ſtrait, and arrived in Sicily. His conqueſts at firſt were ſo rapid, that he left the Carthaginians, in the whole iſland, only the ſingle town of

* A. M. 3727. A. Carth. 569. A. Rom. 471. Ant. J. C. 277. Polyb. l. iii. p. 250. edit. Gronov. † Juſtin. l. xviii. c. 2. ‡ Ibid.

Lilybæum.

Lilybæum. He then laid siege to it; but meeting with a vigorous resistance, was obliged to break up; not to mention that the urgent necessity of his affairs called him back to Italy, where his presence was absolutely necessary. Nor was it less so in Sicily, which, on his departure, returned to the obedience of its former masters. Thus he lost this island with the same rapidity that he had won it. As he was embarking, turning his eyes back to Sicily, "* What a fine field of battle†," said he to those about him, "do we leave the Carthaginians and "Romans!" His prediction was soon verified.

After his departure, the chief public employment of Syracuse was conferred on Hiero, who afterwards obtained the name and dignity of king, by the united suffrages of the citizens, so greatly had his government pleased. He was appointed to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, and obtained several advantages over them. But now a common interest re-united them against a new enemy, who began to appear in Sicily, and justly alarmed both. These were the Romans, who, having crushed all the enemies which had hitherto exercised their arms in Italy itself, were now powerful enough to carry them out of it; and to lay the foundation of that vast power there, to which they afterwards attained, and of which it was probable they had even then formed the design. Sicily lay too commodious for them, not to form a resolution of establishing themselves in it. They therefore eagerly snatched this opportunity for crossing into it, which caused the rupture between them and the Carthaginians, and gave rise to the first Punic war. This I shall treat of more at large, by relating the causes of that war.

CHAPTER II.

The History of Carthage from the First Punic War to its Destruction.

THE plan laid down by me for the prosecution of this history, does not allow me to enter into an exact detail of the wars between Rome and Carthage; since that relates

* Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 398.

† Οἵαν ἀπολείπομεν, ὦ φίλοι, Καρχηδονίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις παλαίστραν. The Greek word is "beautiful." Indeed Sicily was a kind of Palæstra, where the Carthaginians and Romans exercised themselves in war, and for many years seemed to play the part of wrestlers with each other. The English language, as well as the French, has no word to express the Greek term.

rather to the Roman history, which I shall only transiently and occasionally touch upon. My business is to relate such facts only, as may give the reader a just idea of the republic whose history lies before me; and this I may do, by confining myself to those particulars which relate chiefly to the Carthaginians, such as their transactions in Sicily, Spain, and Africa, which are sufficiently extensive.

I have already observed, that from the first Punic war to the ruin of Carthage, there were 118 years. This whole time may be divided into five parts, or intervals.

I. The first Punic war lasted 24 years.	24
II. The interval betwixt the first and second Punic war, is also 24 years.	24
III. The second Punic war took up 17 years.	17
IV. The interval betwixt the second and third, is 49 years.	49
V. The third Punic war, terminated by the destruction of Carthage, continued but four years, and some months.	4
	118

ARTICLE I.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

The first Punic war* arose from the following cause. Some Campanian soldiers, in the service of Agathocles, the Sicilian tyrant, having entered as friends into Messina, they soon after murdered part of the townsmen, drove out the rest, married their wives, seized their effects, and remained sole masters of that important city. They then assumed the name of Mamertines. In imitation of them, and by their assistance, a Roman legion treated in the same cruel manner the city of Rhegium, lying directly opposite to Messina, on the other side of the strait. These two perfidious cities, supporting one another, became at last formidable to their neighbours; and especially Messina, which being very powerful, gave great umbrage and uneasiness both to the Syracusans and Carthaginians, who possessed one part of Sicily. After the Romans had got rid of the enemies they had so long contended with, and particularly of Pyrrhus, they began to think it time to call their citizens to account, who had settled themselves, near two years, in Rhegium, in so

* A. M. 3724. A. Rom. 468. Ant. J. C. 280. Polyb. l. i. p. 8. edit. Gronov.

cruel

cruel and treacherous a manner. Accordingly they took the city, and killed in the attack the greatest part of the inhabitants, who, armed with despair, had fought to the last gasp: 300 only were left, who were carried to Rome, whipped, and then publicly beheaded in the forum. The view which the Romans had in making this bloody execution, was, to prove to their allies their own sincerity and innocence. Rhegium was immediately restored to its lawful possessors. The Mamertines, who were considerably weakened, as well by the ruin of their confederate city, as by the losses sustained from the Syracusans, who had lately placed Hiero at their head, thought it time to provide for their own safety. But divisions arising among them, one part surrendered the citadel to the Carthaginians, whilst the other called in the Romans to their assistance, and resolved to put them in possession of their city.

* The affair was debated in the Roman senate, where, being considered in all its lights, it appeared to have some difficulties. On one hand, it was thought base, and altogether unworthy of the Roman virtue, for them to undertake openly the defence of traitors, whose perfidy was exactly the same with that of the Rhegians, whom the Romans had punished with so exemplary a severity. On the other hand, it was of the utmost consequence to stop the progress of the Carthaginians, who, not satisfied with their conquests in Africa and Spain, had also made themselves masters of almost all the islands of the Sardinian and Hetrurian seas, and would certainly get all Sicily into their hands, if they should be suffered to possess themselves of Messina. From thence into Italy the passage was very short; and it was in some manner to invite an enemy to come over, to leave him that entrance open. These reasons, though so strong, could not prevail with the senate to declare in favour of the Mamertines; and accordingly, motives of honour and justice prevailed over those of interest and policy. † But the people were not so scrupulous: for, in an assembly held on this subject, it was resolved that the Mamertines should be assisted. The consul Appius Claudius immediately set forward with his army, and boldly crossed the Strait, after he had, by an ingenious stratagem, eluded the vigilance of the Carthaginian general. The Carthaginians, partly by art, and partly by force, were driven out of the citadel; and the city was by this means surrendered immediately to the consul.

* Polyb. l. i. p. 12, 13, 14, 15, edit. Gronov. † A. M. 3741. A. Carth. 383. A. Rom. 485. Ant. J. C. 623. Frontin.

The Carthaginians hanged their general, for having given up the citadel in ſo cowardly a manner, and prepared to beſiege the town with all their forces. Hiero joined them with his own. But the conſul having defeated them ſeparately, raiſed the ſiege, and laid waſte at pleaſure the neighbouring country, the enemy not daring to face him. This was the firſt expedition which the Romans made out of Italy.

It is doubted *, whether the motives which prompted the Romans to undertake this expedition were very upright, and exactly conformable to the rules of ſtrict juſtice. However this be, their paſſage into Sicily, and the ſuccour they gave to the inhabitants of Meſſina, may be ſaid to have been the firſt ſtep by which they aſcended to that height of glory and grandeur they afterwards attained.

† Hiero having reconciled himſelf to the Romans, and entered into an alliance with them, the Carthaginians bent all their thoughts on Sicily, and ſent numerous armies into that iſland. ‡ Agrigentum was their place of arms; which, being attacked by the Romans, was won by them, after they had beſieged it ſeven months, and gained one battle.

§ Notwithſtanding the advantage of this victory, and the conqueſt of ſo important a city, the Romans ſtill were not ſatisfied. They were ſenſible, that whilſt the Carthaginians ſhould continue maſters at ſea, the maritime places in the iſland would always ſide with them, and put it out of their power ever to drive them out of Sicily. Beſides, they could not with any patience ſee Africa enjoy a profound tranquillity, at a time that Italy was infeſted by ſo many incurſions of its enemies. They now firſt formed the deſign of having a fleet, and of diſputing the empire of the ſea with the Carthaginians. The undertaking was bold, and in outward appearance raſh, but argued the courage and grandeur of the Roman genius. The Romans were not then poſſeſſed of a ſingle veſſel, which they could call their own; and the ſhips which had tranſported their forces into Sicily, had been borrowed of their neighbours. They were unexperienced in ſea affairs; had no carpenters for the building of ſhips; and knew nothing of the quinqueremes, or five-oar'd galleys, in which the chief ſtrength of fleets at that time conſiſted. But happily, the year before, one had been taken upon the coaſts of Italy, which ſerved as a model to build

* The Chevalier Folard examines this queſtion in his remarks upon Polybius, l. i. p. 16.

† Polyb. l. i. p. 15—19. ‡ A. M. 3743. A. Rom. 487.

§ Id. p. 20.

others

others by. The Romans now applied themselves with ardour and incredible industry to the building of ships in the same form; and in the mean time they got together a set of rowers, who were taught an exercise and discipline utterly unknown to them before, in the following manner. Benches were made on the shore, in the same order and fashion with those of galleys. The rowers were seated on these benches, and taught, as if they had been furnished with oars, to throw themselves backwards with their arms drawn to their breasts; and then to throw their bodies and arms forward in one regular motion, the instant their commanding officer gave the signal. In two months, 100 five-oar'd and 20 three-oar'd galleys were built; and after some time had been spent in exercising the rowers on shipboard, the fleet put to sea, and went in quest of the enemy. The consul Duillius had the command of it.

*The Romans coming up with the Carthaginians near the coast of Myle, they prepared for an engagement. As the Roman galleys, by their being clumsily and hastily built, were neither very nimble, nor easy to work, this inconvenience was supplied by a machine invented for this occasion, and afterwards known by the name of the †Corvus, "Crow, or Crane," by the help of which they grappled the enemy's ships, boarded them, and immediately came to close engagement. The signal for fighting was given. The Carthaginian fleet consisted of 130 sail, under the command of Hannibal‡. He himself was on board a galley of seven benches of oars, which had once belonged to Pyrrhus. The Carthaginians, highly despising enemies who were utterly unacquainted with sea-affairs, imagined that their very appearance would put them to flight, and therefore came forward boldly, with little expectation of fighting, but firmly imagining they should reap the spoils, which they had already devoured with their eyes. They were nevertheless a little surprised at the sight of the above-mentioned engines, raised on the prow of every one of the enemy's ships, and which was entirely new to them. But their astonishment increased, when they saw these engines drop down at once; and being thrown forcibly into their vessels, grapple them in spite of all resistance. This changed the form of the engagement, and obliged the Carthaginians to come to close engagement with their enemies, as though they had fought them on land. They soon were unable to sustain the

* Polyb. l. i. p. 22. A. M. 3745. A. Rom. 489. † Id. 31.
‡ A different person from the great Hannibal.

attack of the Roman veſſels, upon which a horrible ſlaughter enſued; and the Carthaginians loſt fourſcore veſſels, among which was the admiral's galley, he himſelf eſcaping with difficulty in a ſmall boat.

So conſiderable and unexpected a victory raiſed the courage of the Romans, and ſeemed to redouble their vigour for the continuance of the war. Extraordinary honours were beſtowed on Duillius, who was the firſt Roman that had a naval triumph decreed him: beſides which, a roſtral pillar was erected in his honour, with a noble inſcription; which pillar is now ſtanding in Rome*.

†During the two following years, the Romans grew inſenſibly ſtronger at ſea, by their gaining ſeveral naval victories. But theſe were conſidered by them only as eſſays preparatory to the great deſign they meditated of carrying the war into Africa, and of combating the Carthaginians in their own country. There was nothing the latter dreaded more; and to divert ſo dangerous a blow, they reſolved to fight the enemy whatever might be the conſequence.

‡The Romans had elected M. Atilius Regulus and L. Manlius conſuls for this year. Their fleet conſiſted of 330 veſſels, on board of which were 140,000 men, each veſſel having 300 rowers, and 120 ſoldiers. That of the Carthaginians, commanded by Hanno and Hamilcar, had 20 veſſels more than the Romans, and a greater number of men in proportion. The two fleets came in ſight of each other near Ecnomus in Sicily. No man could behold two ſuch formidable navies, or be a ſpectator of the extraordinary preparations they made for fighting, without being under ſome concern, on ſeeing the danger which menaced two of the moſt powerful ſtates in the world. As the courage on both ſides was equal, and no great diſparity in the forces, the fight was obſtinate, and the victory long doubtful; but at laſt the Carthaginians were overcome. More than 60 of their ſhips were taken by the enemy, and 30 ſunk. The Romans loſt 24, not one of which was taken by the Carthaginians.

§The fruit of this victory, as the Romans had deſigned it, was their ſailing to Africa, after having refitted their ſhips, and provided them with all neceſſaries for carrying on a long war in a foreign country. They landed happily in Africa, and

* Theſe pillars are called Roſtratæ, from the beaks of ſhips with which they were adorned, Roſtra.

† Polyb. l. i. p. 24.

‡ A. M. 3749. A. Rom. 493. Polyb. l. i. p. 25.

§ Ibid. p. 30.

begun

begun the war by taking a town called Clypea, which had a commodious haven. From thence, after having ſent an expreſs to Rome, to give advice of their landing, and to receive orders from the ſenate, they over-ran the open country, in which they made terrible havoc; bringing away whole flocks of cattle, and 20,000 priſoners.

*The expreſs returned in the mean time with the orders of the ſenate; which were, that Regulus ſhould continue to command the armies in Africa, with the title of Proconſul; and that his colleague ſhould return with a great part of the fleet and the forces; leaving Regulus only 40 veſſels, 15,000 foot, and 500 horſe. Their leaving the latter with ſo few ſhips and troops was a viſible renunciation of the advantages which might have been expected from this deſcent upon Africa.

The people at Rome depended greatly on the courage and abilities of Regulus; and the city was in univerſal joy, when it was known that he was continued in the command in Africa; †but he himſelf was afflicted on that account. When news was brought him of it, he wrote to Rome, and deſired, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that he might be appointed a ſucceſſor. His chief reaſon was, that the death of the farmer who rented his grounds having given one of his hirelings an opportunity of carrying off all the implements of tillage, his preſence was neceſſary for taking care of his little ſpot of ground (it being but ſeven acres), which was all his family ſubſiſted upon. But the ſenate undertook to have his lands cultivated at the public expence, to maintain his wife and children, and to indemnify him for the loſs he had ſuſtained by the robbery of his hireling. Thrice happy age! in which poverty was thus had in honour, and was united with the moſt rare and uncommon merit, and the higheſt employments of the ſtate! Regulus, thus freed from his domeſtic cares, bent his whole thoughts on diſcharging the duty of a general.

‡After taking ſeveral caſtles, he laid ſiege to Adis, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of the country. The Carthaginians, exaſperated at ſeeing their enemies thus laying waſte their lands at pleaſure, at laſt took the field, and marched againſt them, to force them to raiſe the ſiege. With this view, they poſted themſelves on a hill, which overlooked the Roman camp, and was convenient for annoying the enemy; but at the ſame time, by its ſituation, uſeleſs to one part of their army; for the

* A. M. 3750. A. Rom. 494. † Val. Max. l. iv. c. 4.
‡ Polyb. l. i. p. 3—36.

ſtrength

ſtrength of the Carthaginians lay chiefly in their horſes and elephants, which are of no ſervice but in plains. Regulus did not give them an opportunity of deſcending from the hill; but taking advantage of this eſſential miſtake of the Carthaginian generals, he fell upon them in this poſt; and, after meeting with a feeble reſiſtance, put the enemy to flight, plundered their camp, and laid waſte the adjacent countries. Then, having taken Tunis*, an important city, and which brought him near Carthage, he made his army encamp there.

The enemy were in the utmoſt alarm. All things had ſucceeded ill with them, their forces had been defeated by ſea and land, and upwards of 200 towns had ſurrendered to the conqueror. Beſides, the Numidians made greater havoc in their territories than even the Romans. They expected every moment to ſee their capital beſieged; and their affliction was increaſed by the concourſe of peaſants with their wives and children, who flocked from all parts to Carthage for ſafety; which gave them melancholy apprehenſions of a famine in caſe of a ſiege. Regulus, afraid of having the glory of his victories torn from him by a ſucceſſor, made ſome propoſal of an accommodation to the vanquiſhed enemy; but the conditions appeared ſo hard, that they could not liſten to them. As he did not doubt his being ſoon maſter of Carthage, he would not abate any thing in his demands; but, by an infatuation which is almoſt inſeparable from great and unexpected ſucceſs, he treated them with haughtineſs, and pretended that every

* In the interval betwixt the departure of Manlius and the taking of Tunis, we are to place the memorable combat of Regulus and his whole army, with a ſerpent of ſo prodigious a ſize, that the fabulous one of Cadmus is hardly comparable to it. The ſtory of this ſerpent was elegantly writ by Livy, but it is now loſt. Valerius Maximus, however, partly repairs that loſs: and in the laſt chapter of his firſt book, gives us the account of this monſter from Livy himſelf.—He, Livy, ſays, that on the banks of Bagrada, an African river, lay a ſerpent of ſo enormous a ſize, that it kept the whole Roman army from coming to the river. Several ſoldiers had been buried in the wide caverns of its belly, and many preſſed to death in the ſpiral volumes of its tail. Its ſkin was impenetrable to darts; and it was with repeated endeavours that ſtones, flung from military engines, at laſt killed it. The ſerpent then exhibited a ſight that was more terrible to the Roman cohorts and legions, than even Carthage itſelf. The ſtreams of the river were dyed with its blood, and the ſtench of its putrified carcaſe infecting the adjacent country, the Roman army was forced to decamp. Its ſkin, 120 feet long, was ſent to Rome; and, if Pliny may be credited, was to be ſeen, together with the jaw-bone of the ſame monſter, in the temple where they were firſt depoſited, as low as the Numantine war.

thing

thing he suffered them to possess, ought to be esteemed a favour, with this farther insult, "That they ought either to overcome like brave men, or learn to submit to the victor*." So harsh and disdainful a treatment only fired their resentment, and made them resolve rather to die sword in hand, than do any thing which might derogate from the dignity of Carthage.

Reduced to this fatal extremity, they received, in the happiest juncture, a reinforcement of auxiliary troops out of Greece, with Xanthippus, the Lacedæmonian, at their head, who had been educated in the discipline of Sparta, and learned the art of war in that renowned and excellent school. When he had heard the circumstances of the last battle, which were told him at his request; had clearly discerned the occasion of its loss; and perfectly informed himself in the strength of Carthage; he declared publicly, and repeated it often, in the hearing of the rest of the officers, that the misfortunes of the Carthaginians were owing entirely to the incapacity of their generals. These discourses came at last to the ear of the public council: the members of it were struck with them, and they requested the favour of seeing and talking with him. He then corroborated his opinion with such strong and convincing reasons, that the overslights committed by the generals were visible to every one; and he proved as clearly to the council, that, by a conduct opposite to the former, they would not only secure their dominions, but drive the enemy out of them. This speech revived the courage and hopes of the Carthaginians; and Xanthippus was intreated, and in some measure forced, to accept the command of the army. When the Carthaginians saw, in his exercising of their forces near the city, the manner in which he drew them up in order of battle, made them advance or retreat on the first signal, file off with order and expedition; in a word, form all the evolutions and movements of the military art; they were struck with astonishment, and owned, that the ablest generals which Carthage had hitherto produced knew nothing in comparison of Xanthippus.

The officers, soldiers, and every one, were lost in admiration, and, what is very uncommon, jealousy gave no allay to it; the fear of the present danger, and the love of their country, stifling, without doubt, all other sentiments. The gloomy

* Δεῖ τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἢ νικᾶν, ἢ εἶκειν τοῖς ὑπερέχουσιν. Diod. Eclog. l. xxiii. c. 10.

consternation,

conſternation, which had before ſeized the whole army, was ſucceeded by joy and alacrity. The ſoldiers were urgent to be led againſt the enemy, in the firm aſſurance, as they ſaid, of being victorious under their new leader, and of obliterating the diſgrace of former defeats. Xanthippus did not ſuffer their ardour to cool; and the ſight of the enemy only inflamed it. When he was got within little more than 1200 paces of them, he thought proper to call a council of war, in order to ſhew a reſpect to the Carthaginian generals, by conſulting them. All unanimouſly joined in opinion with him: upon which they reſolved to give the enemy battle the following day.

The Carthaginian army was compoſed of 12,000 foot, 4000 horſe, and about 100 elephants. That of the Romans, as near as may be gueſſed from what goes before (for Polybius gives no determinate number), conſiſted of 15,000 foot, and 300 horſe.

It muſt be a noble ſight to ſee two armies, not overcharged with numbers, but compoſed of brave ſoldiers, and commanded by very able generals, engaged in battle. In thoſe tumultuous fights where 2 or 300,000 are engaged on both ſides, confuſion is inevitable; and it is difficult, amidſt a thouſand events, where chance generally ſeems to have the advantage over council, to diſcover the true merit of commanders, and the real cauſes of victory. But in ſuch engagements as this before us, nothing eſcapes the curioſity of the reader; for he clearly ſees the diſpoſition of the two armies; imagines he almoſt hears the orders given out by the generals; follows all the movements of the army; diſcovers palpably by that means the faults on both ſides; and is thereby qualified to determine, with certainty, the cauſe to which the victory or defeat are owing. The ſucceſs of this battle, however inconſiderable it may appear, from the ſmall number of the combatants, was nevertheleſs to decide the fate of Carthage.

The diſpoſition of both armies was as follows. Xanthippus drew up all his elephants in front; behind theſe, at ſome diſtance, he placed the Carthaginian infantry in one body or phalanx. The foreign troops in the Carthaginian ſervice were poſted, one part of them on the right, between the phalanx and the horſe, and the other, compoſed of light-armed ſoldiers, in platoons, at the head of the two wings of the cavalry.

On the ſide of the Romans, as they apprehended the elephants moſt, Regulus, to provide againſt them, poſted his light-armed ſoldiers, on a line, in the front of the legions. In the

the rear of theſe, he placed the cohorts one behind another, and the horſe on the wings. In thus ſtraitening the front of his main battle, to give it more depth, he indeed took a juſt precaution, ſays Polybius, againſt the elephants; but he did not provide for the inequality of his cavalry, which was much inferior in numbers to that of the enemy.

The two armies being thus drawn up, waited only for the ſignal. Xanthippus ordered the elephants to advance, to break the ranks of the enemy; and commands the two wings of the cavalry to charge the Romans in flank. At the ſame time, the latter, claſhing their arms, and ſhouting after the manner of their country, advance againſt the enemy. Their cavalry did not ſtand the onſet long, it being ſo much inferior to that of the Carthaginians. The infantry in the left wing, to avoid the attack of the elephants, and ſhow how little they feared the mercenaries who formed the enemy's right wing, attacks it, puts it to flight, and purſues it to the camp. Thoſe in the firſt ranks, who were oppoſed to the elephants, were broke and trod under foot, after fighting valiantly; and the reſt of the main body ſtood firm for ſome time, by reaſon of its great depth. But the rear being attacked in flank by the enemy's cavalry, and obliged to face about and receive it; and thoſe who had broke through the elephants, coming to the phalanx of the Carthaginians, which had not yet engaged, and which received them in good order, the Romans were routed on all ſides, and entirely defeated. The greateſt part of them were cruſhed to death by the enormous weight of the elephants; and the remainder, ſtanding in their ranks, were ſhot through and through with arrows from the enemy's horſe. Only a ſmall number fled; and as they were in an open country, the horſe and elephants killed a great part of them. Five hundred, or thereabouts, who went off with Regulus, were taken priſoners with him. The Carthaginians loſt, in this battle, 800 mercenaries, who were oppoſed to the left wing of the Romans; and of the latter only 2000 eſcaped, who, by their purſuing the enemy's right wing, had drawn themſelves out of the engagement. All the reſt, Regulus and thoſe taken with him excepted, were left dead in the field. The 2000 who had eſcaped the ſlaughter, retired to Clypea, and were ſaved in an almoſt miraculous manner.

The Carthaginians, after having ſtripped the dead, entered Carthage in triumph, dragging after them the unfortunate Regulus, and 500 priſoners. Their joy was ſo much the greater, as, but a few days before, they had ſeen themſelves upon

upon the brink of ruin. The men and women, old and young people, crowded the temples, to return thanks to the immortal gods; and several days were devoted wholly to festivities and rejoicings.

Xanthippus, who had contributed so much to this happy change, had the wisdom to withdraw shortly after, from the apprehension lest his glory, which had hitherto been unsullied, might, after this first glare of it, insensibly fade away, and leave him exposed to the darts of envy and calumny, which are very dangerous, but most in a foreign country, when a man stands alone, unsupported by friends, relations, or any other succour.

Polybius tells us, that Xanthippus's departure was related in a different manner, and he promises to take notice of it in another place: but that part of his history has not come down to us. We read in * Appian, that the Carthaginians, excited by a mean and detestable jealousy of Xanthippus's glory, and unable to bear the thoughts that they should stand indebted to Sparta for their safety; upon pretence of conducting him and his attendants back with honour to their own country, with a numerous convoy of ships, they gave private orders to have them all put to death in their passage; as if with him they could have buried in the waves for ever the memory of his services, and their horrid ingratitude to him†.

This battle, says ‡ Polybius, though not so considerable as many others, may yet furnish very salutary instructions; which, adds that author, is the greatest benefit that can be reaped from the study of history.

First, should any man put a great confidence in present hap-

* De Bell. Pun. p. 30.

† This perfidious action, as it is related by Appian, may possibly be true, when we consider the character of the Carthaginians, who were certainly a cruel and treacherous people. But, if it be fact, one would wonder why Polybius should reserve for another occasion, the relation of an incident, which comes in most properly here, as it finishes at once the character and life of Xanthippus. His silence, therefore, in this place makes me think, that he intended to bring Xanthippus again upon the stage; and to exhibit him to the reader in a different light from that in which he is placed by Appian. To this let me add, that it shewed no great depth of policy in the Carthaginians, to take this method of dispatching him, when so many others offered, which were less liable to censure. In this scheme, formed for his destruction, not only himself, but all his followers, were to be murdered, without the pretence of even a storm, or loss of one single Carthaginian, to cover or excuse the perpetration of so horrid a crime.

‡ Lib. i. p. 36, 37.

pines,

pineſs, after he has conſidered the fate of Regulus? That general, inſolent with victory, inexorable to the conquered, and deaf to all their remonſtrances, ſaw himſelf a few days after vanquiſhed by them, and made their priſoner. Hannibal offered the ſame reflection to Scipio, when he exhorted him not to be dazzled with the ſucceſs of his arms. Regulus, ſaid he, would have been recorded amongſt the few inſtances of valour and felicity, had he, after the victory obtained in this very country, granted our fathers the peace which they ſued for. But putting no bounds to his ambition, and the inſolence of ſucceſs, the greater his proſperity, the more ignominious was his fall*.

In the ſecond place, the truth of the ſaying of Euripides is here ſeen in its full extent, "That one wiſe head is worth a "great many hands†." A ſingle man here changes the whole face of affairs. On one hand, he defeats troops which were thought invincible; on the other, he revives the courage of a city and an army that were ſeized with aſtoniſhment and deſpair.

Such, as Polybius obſerves, is the uſe which ought to be made of the ſtudy of hiſtory; for there being two ways of acquiring improvement and inſtructon, firſt, by one's own experience, and ſecondly, by that of other men, it is much more wiſe and uſeful to improve by other men's miſcarriages than by our own.

I return to Regulus, that I may here finiſh what relates to him; Polybius, to our great diſappointment, taking no farther notice of that general‡.

* Inter pauca felicitatis virtutiſque exempla M. Atilius quondam in hac eadem terra fuiſſet, ſi victor pacem petentibus dediſſet patribus noſtris. Sed non ſtatuendo tandem felicitati modum, nec cohibendo efferentem ſe fortunam, quanto altius elatus erat, eo fœdius corruit. Liv. l. xxx. n. 30.

† Ὡς ἓν σοφὸν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας νικᾷ. It may not be improper to take notice in this place, as it was forgot before, of a miſtake of the learned Caſaubon, in his tranſlation of a paſſage of Polybius concerning Xanthippus. The paſſage is this, Ἐν οἷς καὶ Ξάνθιππόν τινα Λακεδαιμόνιον ἄνδρα τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀγωγῆς μετεσχηκότα, καὶ τριβὴν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔχοντα σύμμετρον: which is thus rendered by Caſaubon:—In quels, militibus ſc. Græcia allatis, Xanthippus quidam fuit Lacedæmonius, vir diſciplina Laconica imbutus, et qui rei militaris uſum mediocrem habebat: whereas, agreeably with the whole character and conduct of Xanthippus, I take the ſenſe of this paſſage to be, a man formed by the Spartan diſcipline, and proportionably (not moderately) ſkilful in military affairs.

‡ The ſilence of Polybius has prejudiced a great many learned men againſt many of the ſtories told of Regulus's barbarous treatment, after he

* After being kept some years in prison, he was sent to Rome to propose an exchange of prisoners. He had been obliged to take an oath, that he would return in case he proved unsuccessful. He then acquainted the senate with the subject of his voyage; and being invited by them to give his opinion freely, he answered, that he could no longer do it as a senator, having lost both this quality, and that of a Roman citizen, from the time that he had fallen into the hands of his enemies; but he did not refuse to offer his thoughts as a private person. This was a very delicate affair. Every one was touched with the misfortunes of so great a man. He needed only, says Cicero, have spoke one word, and it would have restored him to his liberty, his estate, his dignity, his wife, his children, and his country; but that word appeared to him contrary to the honour and welfare of the state. He there-

he was taken by the Carthaginians. Mr. Rollin speaks no further of this matter; and therefore I shall give my reader the substance of what is brought against the general belief of the Roman writers, as well historians as poets, and of Appian on this subject. First, it is urged, that Polybius was very sensible that the story of these cruelties was false; and therefore, that he might not disoblige the Romans, by contradicting so general a belief, he chose rather to be silent on Regulus, after he was taken prisoner, than to violate the truth of history, of which he was so strict an observer. This opinion is further strengthened (say the adversaries of this belief) by a fragment of Diodorus, which says, that the wife of Regulus, exasperated at the death of her husband in Carthage, occasioned, as she imagined, by barbarous usage, persuaded her sons to revenge the fate of their father, by the cruel treatment of two Carthaginian captives, thought to be Bostar and Hamilcar, taken in the sea fight against Sicily, after the misfortune of Regulus, and put into her hands for the redemption of her husband. One of these died by the severity of his imprisonment; and the other, by the care of the senate, who detested the cruelty, survived, and was recovered to health. This treatment of the captives, and the resentment of the senate on that account, found a third argument or presumption against the truth of this story of Regulus, which is thus urged: Regulus dying in his captivity by the usual course of nature, his wife, thus frustrated of her hopes of the redeeming him by exchange of her captives, treated them with the utmost barbarity, in consequence of her belief of the ill-usage which Regulus had received. The senate being angry with her for it, to give some colour to her cruelties, she gave out among her acquaintance and kindred, that her husband died in the way generally related. This, like all other reports, increased gradually; and, from the national hatred betwixt the Carthaginians and Romans, was easily and generally believed by the latter. How far this is conclusive against the testimonies of two such weighty authors as Cicero and Seneca, to say nothing of the poets, is left to the judgment of the reader.

* A. M. 3755. A. Rom. 499. Appian. de Bello Pun. p. 2, 3. Cic. de Off. l. iii. n. 99, 109. Aul. Gel. l. vi. c. 4. Senec. Ep. 99.

fore

fore plainly declared, that an exchange of prisoners ought not to be so much as thought upon: that such an example would be of fatal consequence to the republic: that citizens who had so basely surrendered their arms and persons to the enemy, were unworthy of the least compassion, and rendered incapable of serving their country: that with regard to himself, as he was so far advanced in years, his death ought to be considered as nothing; whereas they had in their hands several Carthaginian generals, in the flower of their age, and capable of doing their country great services for many years. It was with difficulty that the senate complied with so generous and unexampled a counsel. *The illustrious exile therefore left Rome, in order to return to Carthage, unmoved either with the deep affliction of his friends, or the tears of his wife and children, although he knew but too well the grievous torments which were prepared for him. And indeed, the moment his enemies saw him returned, without having obtained the exchange of prisoners, they put him to every kind of torture their barbarous cruelty could invent. They imprisoned him for a long time in a dismal dungeon, whence, after cutting off his eye-lids, they drew him at once into the sun, when its beams darted the strongest heat. They next put him into a kind of chest stuck full of nails, whose points wounding him, did not allow him a moment's ease either day or night. Lastly, after having been long tormented by being kept for ever awake in this dreadful torture, his mercileſs enemies nailed him to a cross, their usual punishment, and left him to expire on it. Such was the end of this great man. His enemies, by depriving him of some days, perhaps years of life, brought eternal infamy on themselves.

†The blow which the Romans had received in Africa did not discourage them. They made greater preparations than before, to recover their loss; and put to sea, the following campaign, 360 vessels. The Carthaginians sailed out to meet them with 200, but were beat in an engagement fought on the coasts of Sicily, and 114 of their ships were taken by the Romans. These sailed into Africa to take in the few soldiers who had escaped the pursuit of the enemy, after the defeat of Regulus, and who had defended themselves vigorously in ‡ Clupea, where they had been unsuccessfully besieged.

Here we are again astonished that the Romans, after so considerable a victory, and with so large a fleet, should sail into

* Horat. l. iii. od. 3. † Polyb. l. viii. p. 37. ‡ Or Clypea.

Africa, only to bring from thence a ſmall garriſon; whereas they might have attempted the conqueſt of it, ſince Regulus, with much fewer forces, had almoſt completed it.

*The Romans were overtaken by a ſtorm in their return, which almoſt deſtroyed their whole fleet. †The like misfortune befel them alſo the following year. However, they conſoled themſelves for this double loſs, by a victory which they gained over Aſdrubal, from whom they took near 140 elephants. This news being brought to Rome, it filled the whole city with joy, not only becauſe the ſtrength of the enemy's army was conſiderably diminiſhed by the loſs of their elephants, but chiefly becauſe this victory had inſpired the land-forces with freſh courage; which, from the defeat of Regulus, had not dared to venture upon an engagement; ſo great was the terror with which theſe formidable animals had filled the minds of all the ſoldiers. It was therefore judged proper to make a greater effort than ever, in order to finiſh, if poſſible, a war which had continued 14 years. The two conſuls ſet ſail with a fleet of 200 ſhips, and arriving in Sicily, formed the bold deſign of beſieging Lilybæum. This was the ſtrongeſt town which the Carthaginians poſſeſſed in that iſland; and the loſs of it would be attended with that of every part of it, and open to the Romans a free paſſage into Africa.

‡The reader will ſuppoſe, that the utmoſt ardour was ſhown both in the aſſault and defence of the place. Imilcon was governor there, with 10,000 regular forces, excluſive of the inhabitants; and Hannibal, the ſon of Hamilcar, ſoon brought him as many more from Carthage; he having, with the moſt intrepid courage, forced his way through the enemy's fleet, and arrived happily in the port. The Romans had not loſt any time. Having brought forward their engines, they beat down ſeveral towers with their battering rams; and gaining ground daily, they made ſuch progreſs, as gave the beſieged, who now were cloſely preſſed, ſome fears. The governor ſaw plainly that there was no other way left to ſave the city, but by firing the engines of the beſiegers. Having therefore prepared his forces for this enterpriſe, he ſent them out at day-break with torches in their hands, tow, and all kinds of combuſtible matter; and at the ſame time attacked all the engines. The Romans ſtrove with unparallelled bravery to repel them, and the engagement was very bloody. Every man, aſſailant

* Polyb. l. viii. p. 38—40.
† Ibid. p. 41, 42.
‡ Ibid. l. i. p. 44—50.

as

as well as defendant, ſtood to his poſt, and choſe to die rather than quit it. At laſt, after a long reſiſtance, and dreadful ſlaughter, the beſieged founded a retreat, and left the Romans in poſſeſſion of their works. This ſcene being over, Hannibal, embarking in the night, and concealing his departure from the enemy, ſailed for Drepanum, where Adherbal commanded for the Carthaginians. Drepanum was advantageouſly ſituated; having a commodious port, and lying about 120 furlongs from Lilybæum; and was of ſo much conſequence to the Carthaginians, that they had been always very deſirous of preſerving it.

The Romans, animated by their late ſucceſs, renewed the attack with greater vigour than ever; the beſieged not daring to venture a ſecond time to burn thoſe machines, becauſe of the ill ſucceſs they had met in their firſt attempt. But a furious wind riſing ſuddenly, ſome mercenary ſoldiers repreſented to the governor, that now was the favourable opportunity for them to fire the engines of the beſiegers, eſpecially as the wind blew full againſt them; and they offered themſelves for the enterpriſe. The offer was accepted, and accordingly they were furniſhed with every thing neceſſary. In a moment the fire catched all the engines; and the Romans could not poſſibly extinguiſh it, becauſe the flames being inſtantly ſpread every-where, the wind carried the ſparks and ſmoke full in their eyes, ſo that they could not ſee where to apply relief; whereas their enemies ſaw clearly where to aim their ſtrokes, and throw their fire. This accident made the Romans loſe all hopes of being ever able to carry the place by force. They therefore turned the ſiege into a blockade; raiſed a line of contravallation round the town; and diſperſing their army in every part of the neighbourhood, reſolved to effect, by time, what they found themſelves abſolutely unable to perform any other way.

*When the tranſactions of the ſiege of Lilybæum, and the loſs of part of the forces were known at Rome, the citizens, ſo far from deſponding at this ill news, ſeemed to be fired with new vigour. Every man ſtrove to be foremoſt in the muſter-roll; ſo that, in a very little time, an army of 10,000 men was raiſed, who croſſing the ſtrait, marched by land to join the beſiegers.

†At the ſame time, P. Claudius Pulcher, the conſul, formed a deſign of attacking Adherbal in Drepanum. He thought

* Polyb. l. i. p. 50. † A.M. 3756. A.Rom. 500. Polyb. l. i. p. 51.

himself sure of surprising him, because, after the loss lately sustained by the Romans at Lilybæum, the enemy could not imagine that they would venture out again at sea. Flushed with these hopes, he sailed out with his fleet in the night, the better to conceal his design. But he had to do with an active general, whose vigilance he could not elude, and who did not even give him time to draw up his ships in line of battle, but fell vigorously upon him whilst his fleet was in disorder and confusion. The Carthaginians gained a complete victory. Of the Roman fleet, only 30 vessels got off, which being in company with the consul, fled with him, and got away in the best manner they could along the coast. All the rest, amounting to fourscore and thirteen, with the men on board them, were taken by the Carthaginians, a few soldiers excepted, who had escaped from the shipwreck of their vessels. This victory displayed as much the prudence and valour of Adherbal, as it reflected shame and ignominy on the Roman consul.

* Junius, his colleague, was neither more prudent nor more fortunate than himself, but lost almost his whole fleet by his ill conduct. Endeavouring to atone for his misfortune by some considerable action, he held a secret intelligence with the inhabitants of Eryx†, and by that means got the city surrendered to him. On the summit of the mountain stood the temple of Venus Erycina, which was certainly the most beautiful as well as the richest of all the Sicilian temples. The city stood a little below the summit of this mountain, and the road that led to it was very long, and of difficult access. Junius posted one part of his troops upon the top, and the remainder at the foot of the mountain, imagining that he had nothing to fear; but Hamilcar, surnamed Barcha, father of the famous Hannibal, found means to get into the city, which lay between the two camps of the enemy, and there fortified himself. From this advantageous post, he harassed the Romans incessantly for two years. One can scarce conceive how it was possible for the Carthaginians to defend themselves, when thus attacked from both the summit and foot of the mountain, and unable to get provisions, but from a little port, which was the only one open to them. By such enterprises as these, the abilities and prudent courage of a general are as well, or perhaps better discovered, than by the winning of a battle.

‡ For five years, nothing memorable was performed on either

* Polyb. l. i. p. 54—59.
† A city and mountain of Sicily.
‡ Polyb. l. i. p. 59—62.

side

fide. The Romans were once of opinion, that their land-forces would alone be capable of finishing the siege of Lilybæum: but the war being protracted beyond their expectation, they returned to their first plan, and made extraordinary efforts to fit out a new fleet. The public treasury was at a low ebb; but this want was supplied by private purses; so ardent was the love which the Romans bore their country. Every man, according to his circumstances, contributed to the common expence; and, upon public security, advanced money, without the least scruple, for an expedition on which the glory and safety of Rome depended. One man fitted out a ship at his own charge; another was equipped by the contributions of two or three; so that, in a very little time, 200 were ready for sailing. * The command was given to Lutatius, the consul, who immediately put to sea. The enemy's fleet had retired into Africa, by which means the consul easily seized upon all the advantageous posts in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum; and, foreseeing that he should soon be forced to fight, he did all that lay in his power to assure himself of success, and employed the interval in exercising his soldiers and seamen at sea.

He was soon informed that the Carthaginian fleet drew near, under the command of Hanno, who landed in a small island called Hiera, opposite to Drepanum. His design was to reach Eryx undiscovered by the Romans, in order to supply the army there, and to reinforce his troops, and take Barcha on board to assist him in the expected engagement. But the consul, suspecting his intention, was beforehand with him; and having assembled all his best forces, sailed for the small island †Ægusa, which lay near the other. He acquainted his officers with the design he had of attacking the enemy on the morrow. Accordingly, at day-break, he put all things in readiness; when unfortunately the wind was favourable to the enemy, which made him hesitate whether he should give them battle. But considering, that the Carthaginian fleet, when unloaded of its provision, would become lighter and more fit for action, and, besides, would be considerably strengthened by the forces and presence of Barcha, he came to a resolution at once; and, notwithstanding the foul weather, made directly to the enemy. The consul had choice forces, able seamen, and excellent ships, built after the model of a galley that had been lately taken from the enemy; and which was the completest in its kind that had ever been seen. The Carthaginians, on the other hand,

* A. M. 3763. A. Rom. 507. † They are now called Ægates.

were

were deſtitute of all theſe advantages. As they had been the entire maſters at ſea for ſome years, and the Romans did not once dare to face them, they had them in the higheſt contempt, and looked upon themſelves as invincible. On the firſt report of the motion of the enemy, the Carthaginians had put to ſea a fleet fitted out in haſte, as appeared from every circumſtance of it: the ſoldiers and ſeamen being all mercenaries, newly levied, without the leaſt experience, reſolution, or zeal, ſince it was not for their own country they were going to fight. This ſoon appeared in the engagement. They could not ſuſtain the firſt attack. Fifty of their veſſels were ſunk, and 70 taken with their whole crews. The reſt, favoured by a wind which roſe very ſeaſonably for them, made the beſt of their way to the little iſland from whence they had ſailed. There were upwards of 10,000 taken priſoners. The conſul ſailed immediately for Lilybæum, and joined his forces to thoſe of the beſiegers.

When the news of this defeat arrived at Carthage, it occaſioned ſo much the greater ſurpriſe and terror, as it was leſs expected. The ſenate, however, did not loſe their courage, though they ſaw themſelves quite unable to continue the war. As the Romans were now maſters of the ſea, it was not poſſible for the Carthaginians to ſend either proviſions or reinforcements to the armies in Sicily. An expreſs was therefore immediately diſpatched to Barcha, the general there, empowering him to act as he ſhould think proper. Barcha, ſo long as he had room to entertain the leaſt hopes, had done every thing that could be expected from the moſt intrepid courage, and the moſt conſummate wiſdom. But having now no reſource left, he ſent a deputation to the conſul, in order to treat about a peace. Prudence, ſays Polybius, conſiſts in knowing how to reſiſt and yield at a ſeaſonable juncture. Lutatius was not inſenſible how tired the Romans were grown of a war, which had exhauſted them both of men and money; and the dreadful conſequences which had attended on Regulus's inexorable and imprudent obſtinacy were freſh in their memories. He therefore complied without difficulty, and dictated the following treaty:

"*There ſhall be peace between Rome and Carthage (in caſe the "Roman people approve of it), on the following conditions: The "Carthaginians ſhall evacuate entirely all Sicily; ſhall no longer "make war upon Hiero, the Syracuſans, or their allies: They "ſhall reſtore to the Romans, without ranſom, all the priſoners "which they have taken from them; and pay them, within 20 "years,*

"*years*, * 2,200 *Euboic talents of silver* †." It is worth the reader's remarking by the way, the exact and clear terms in which this treaty is expressed; that, in so short a compass, adjusts the interests both by sea and land, of two powerful republics and their allies.

When these conditions were brought to Rome, the people, not approving of them, sent ten commissioners to Sicily, to terminate the affair. ‡ These made no alteration as to the substance of the treaty; only shortening the time appointed for the payment, reducing it to ten years: A thousand talents were added to the sum that had been stipulated, which was to be paid immediately; and the Carthaginians were required to depart out of all the islands situated between Italy and Sicily. Sardinia was not comprehended in this treaty, but they gave it up, some years after, by a treaty.

§ Such was the conclusion of this war, the longest mentioned in history, since it continued 24 years without intermission. The obstinacy, in disputing for empire, was equal on either side: The same resolution, the same greatness of soul, in forming as well as in executing of projects, being conspicuous on both sides. The Carthaginians had the superiority over them with regard to experience in naval affairs; in the strength and swiftness of their vessels; the working of them; the skill and capacity of their pilots; the knowledge of coasts, shallows, roads, and winds; and in the inexhaustible fund of wealth, which furnished all the expences of so long and obstinate a war. The Romans had none of these advantages; but their courage, zeal for the public good, love for their country, and a noble emulation of glory, supplied all of them. We are astonished to see a nation so raw and inexperienced in naval affairs, not only disputing the empire of the sea with a people, who were best skilled in them, and more powerful than any that had ever been before, but even gaining several victories over them at sea. No difficulties or calamities could discourage them. They certainly would not have thought of peace, in the circumstances in which the Carthaginians demanded it. One unfortunate campaign dispirits the latter; whereas the Romans are not shaken by a succession of them.

As to the soldiers, though there was no comparison between those of Rome and Carthage, the former being infinitely supe-

* This sum amounts to near 6,180,000 French livres.

† L. 515,000 English money.

‡ Polyb. l. iii. p. 182.

§ A. M. 3763. A. Carth. 605. A. Rom. 507. Ant. J. C. 241.

rior

rior in point of courage, among the generals who commanded in this war, Hamilcar, ſurnamed Barcha, was doubtleſs the moſt conſpicuous for his bravery and prudence.

THE LIBYAN WAR; OR AGAINST THE MERCENARIES.

* THE war which the Carthaginians waged againſt the Romans, was † ſucceeded immediately by another the very ſame year, which, though of much ſhorter continuance, was infinitely more dangerous; as it was carried on in the very heart of the republic, and attended with ſuch cruelty and barbarity, as is ſcarce to be parallelled in hiſtory; I mean the war which the Carthaginians were obliged to ſuſtain againſt their mercenary troops, who had ſerved under them in Sicily, and commonly called the African or Libyan war ‡. It continued only three years and a half, but was a very bloody one. The occaſion of it was this:

§ As ſoon as the treaty was concluded with the Romans, Hamilcar, having carried to Lilybæum the forces which were in Eryx, reſigned his commiſſion; and left to Giſgo, governor of the place, the care of tranſporting theſe forces into Africa. Giſgo, as though he had foreſeen what would happen, did not ſhip them all off at once, but in ſmall and ſeparate parties; in order that thoſe who came firſt might be paid off, and ſent home, before the arrival of the reſt. This conduct ſhowed great forecaſt and wiſdom, but was not ſeconded equally at Carthage. As the republic was drained by the expence of a long war, and the paying near three millions to the Romans on ſigning the peace, the forces were not paid off in proportion as they arrived; but it was thought proper to wait for the reſt, in the hopes of obtaining from them, when they ſhould be all together, a remiſſion of ſome part of their arrears. This was the firſt overſight.

Here the genius of a ſtate compoſed of merchants diſcovers itſelf, who know the full value of money, but not the merit of ſoldiers; who make a traffic of their blood, as though they were goods, and always go to the cheapeſt market. In ſuch a republic, when an exigency is once anſwered, the merit of ſervices is no longer remembered.

Theſe ſoldiers, moſt of whom came to Carthage, being long accuſtomed to a licentious life, cauſed great diſturbances in the

* Polyb. l. i. p. 65—89.
† The ſame year that the firſt Punic war ended.
‡ And ſometimes ξενικὸν, or the war with the mercenaries.
§ Polyb. l. i. p. 66.

city;

city; to remedy which, it was propoſed to their officers, to march them all to a little neighbouring town called Sicca, and there ſupply them with whatever was neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, till the arrival of the reſt of their companions; and that then they ſhould all be paid off, and ſent home. This was a ſecond overſight.

A third was, the refuſing to let them leave their baggage, their wives and children in Carthage, as they deſired; and the forcing them to remove theſe to Sicca; whereas, had they ſtaid in Carthage, they would have been in a manner ſo many hoſtages.

Being all met together at Sicca, they began, having little elſe to do, to compute the arrears of their pay, which they made much more than was really due to them. To this computation, they added the mighty promiſes which had been made them, at different times, as an encouragement for them to do their duty; and pretended that theſe likewiſe ought to be placed to account. Hanno, who was then governor of Africa, and had been ſent to them from the magiſtrates of Carthage, propoſed to theſe ſoldiers ſome remiſſion of their arrears; and deſired that they would content themſelves with receiving a part, becauſe of the great diſtreſs to which the commonwealth was reduced, and its preſent unhappy circumſtances. The reader will eaſily gueſs how ſuch a propoſal was received. Complaints, murmurs, ſeditious and inſolent clamours were every-where heard. Theſe troops being compoſed of different nations, who were ſtrangers to one another's language, were incapable of hearing reaſon, when once they mutinied. Spaniards, Gauls, Ligurians; inhabitants of the Balearian iſles; Greeks, the greateſt part of them ſlaves or deſerters; and a very great number of Africans, compoſed theſe mercenary forces. But now, tranſported with rage, they immediately break up, march towards Carthage, being upwards of 20,000, and encamp at Tunis, not far from that metropolis.

The Carthaginians diſcovered too late their error. There was no compliance, how groveling ſoever, to which they did not ſtoop, to ſooth theſe exaſperated ſoldiers; who, on their ſide, practiſed every knaviſh art which could be thought of in order to extort money from them. When one point was gained, they immediately had recourſe to a new artifice, on which to ground ſome new demand. Was their pay ſettled beyond the agreement made with them, they ſtill would be reimburſed for the loſſes which they pretended to have ſuſtained, either by the

the death of horſes, or by the exceſſive price which at certain times they had paid for bread-corn; and ſtill inſiſted on the recompence which had been promiſed them. As nothing could be fixed, the Carthaginians, with great difficulty, prevailed on them to refer themſelves to the opinion of ſome general who had commanded in Sicily. Accordingly they pitched upon Giſgo, who had always been very acceptable to them. This general harangued them in a mild and inſinuating manner; recalled to their memories the long time they had been in the Carthaginian ſervice; the conſiderable ſums they had received from the republic; and granted almoſt all their demands.

The treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when two mutineers occaſioned a tumult in every part of the camp. One of thoſe was Spendius a Capuan, who had been a ſlave at Rome, and fled to the Carthaginians. He was a tall, luſty, and extremely bold fellow. The fear he was under of falling into the hands of his old maſter, by whom he was ſure to be hanged, as was the cuſtom, prompted him to break off the accommodation. He was ſeconded by one Matho*, who had been very active in forming the conſpiracy. Theſe two repreſented to the Africans, that the inſtant after their companions ſhould be diſcharged and ſent home, they, being thus left alone in their own country, would fall a ſacrifice to the rage of the Carthaginians, who would take vengeance upon them for the common rebellion. This was ſufficient to raiſe them to fury. They immediately made choice of Spendius and Matho for their chiefs. No remonſtrances were heard; and whoever offered to make any, was immediately put to death. They ran to Giſgo's tent, plundered it of the money deſigned for the payment of the forces; dragged even that general himſelf to priſon, with all his attendants; after having treated them with the utmoſt indignities. All the cities of Africa, to whom they had ſent deputies, to exhort them to recover their liberty, came over to them, Utica and Hipparca excepted; which they therefore beſieged.

Carthage had never before been expoſed to ſuch imminent danger. The citizens of it, to a man, drew their particular ſubſiſtence from the rents and revenues of their lands, and the

*Matho was an African, and free-born; but as he had been active in raiſing the rebellion, an accommodation would have ruined him. He therefore, deſpairing of a pardon, embraced the intereſts of Spendius with more zeal than any of the rebels, and firſt inſinuated to the Africans the danger of concluding a peace, as this would leave them alone, and expoſed to the rage of their old maſters. Polyb. p. 98. edit. Gronov.

public

public expences from the tribute paid from Africa. But all this was ſtopped at once; and (a much worſe circumſtance) was turned againſt them. They found themſelves deſtitute of arms and forces either for ſea or land; of all neceſſary preparations either for ſuſtaining a ſiege, or the equipping of a fleet; and, to complete their misfortunes, without any hope of foreign aſſiſtance, either from their friends or allies.

They might in ſome ſenſe accuſe themſelves for the diſtreſs to which they were reduced. During the laſt war, they had treated the African nations with the utmoſt rigour, by impoſing exceſſive tributes on them, in the exaction of which no allowance was made for poverty and extreme miſery; and governors, ſuch as Hanno, were treated with the greater reſpect, the more ſevere they had been in levying thoſe tributes: ſo that the Africans were eaſily prevailed upon to engage in this rebellion. At the very firſt ſignal that was made, it broke out, and in a moment became general. The women, who had often, with the deepeſt affliction, ſeen their huſbands and fathers dragged to priſon for non-payment, were more exaſperated than the men, and with pleaſure gave up all their ornaments towards the expences of the war; ſo that the chiefs of the rebels, after paying all they promiſed the ſoldiers, found themſelves ſtill in the midſt of plenty. An inſtructive leſſon, ſays Polybius, to miniſters; as it teaches them to look, not only to the preſent occaſion, but to extend their views to futurity.

The Carthaginians, notwithſtanding their preſent diſtreſs, did not deſpond, but made the moſt extraordinary efforts for their defence. The command of the army was given to Hanno. Troops were levied by land and ſea, horſe as well as foot. All citizens, capable of bearing arms, were muſtered; mercenaries were invited from all parts; and all the ſhips which the republic had left were refitted.

The rebels diſcovered no leſs ardour. We related before, that they had beſieged two cities which refuſed to join them. Their army was now increaſed to 70,000 men. After detachments had been drawn from it to carry on theſe ſieges, they pitched their camp at Tunis, and thereby held Carthage in a kind of blockade, filling it with perpetual alarms, and advancing up to its very walls by day as well as by night.

Hanno had marched to the relief of Utica, and gained a conſiderable advantage, which, had he made a proper uſe of, might have proved deciſive: but entering the city, and only diverting himſelf there, the mercenaries, who were poſted on a neigh-

bouring hill covered with trees, hearing how careleſs the enemy were, poured down upon them; found the ſoldiers every where off their duty; took and plundered their camp, and ſeized upon all the proviſions, &c. brought from Carthage to ſuccour the beſieged. Nor was this the only error committed by Hanno; and errors, on ſuch occaſions, are much the moſt fatal. Hamilcar, ſurnamed Barcha, was therefore appointed to ſucceed him. This general anſwered the idea that had been entertained of him; and his firſt ſucceſs was the obliging the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of Utica. He then marched againſt their army which was encamped near Carthage, defeated part of it, and ſeized almoſt all their advantageous poſts. Theſe ſucceſſes revived the courage of the Carthaginians.

The arrival of a young Numidian nobleman, Naravaſus by name, who, out of his eſteem for the perſon and merit of Barcha, joined him with 2000 Numidians, was of great ſervice to that general. Animated by this reinforcement, he fell upon the rebels, who had incloſed him in a valley, killed 10,000 of them, and took 4000 priſoners. The young Numidian diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in this battle. Barcha took into his troops as many of the priſoners as were deſirous of being inliſted, and gave the reſt free liberty to go wherever they pleaſed, on condition that they ſhould never take up arms againſt the Carthaginians; otherwiſe, that every man of them who was taken ſhould be put to death. This conduct proves the wiſdom of that general. He thought this a better expedient than extreme ſeverity: and indeed, where a multitude of mutineers are concerned, the greateſt part of whom were drawn in by the perſuaſions of the moſt hot-headed, or through fear of the moſt furious, clemency ſeldom fails of being ſucceſsful.

Spendius, the chief of the rebels, fearing that this affected lenity of Barcha might occaſion a defection among his troops, thought the only expedient left him to prevent it, would be, to put them upon ſome ſignal action, in order to deprive them of all hopes of being ever reconciled to the enemy. With this view, after having read to them ſome fictitious letters, by which advice was given him of a ſecret deſign concerted betwixt ſome of their comrades and Giſgo, for the reſcuing him out of priſon, where he had been ſo long detained, he brought them to the barbarous reſolution of murdering him and all the reſt of the priſoners; and any man, who durſt offer any milder counſel, was immediately ſacrificed to their fury. Accordingly, this unfortunate general, and 700 priſoners, who were confined with him, were brought out to the head of the camp, where

Giſgo

Giſgo fell the firſt ſacrifice, and afterwards all the reſt. Their hands were cut off, their thighs broke, and their bodies, ſtill breathing, were thrown into a hole. The Carthaginians ſent a herald to demand their remains, in order to pay them the laſt ſad office, but were refuſed; and the herald was further told, that whoever preſumed to come upon the like errand ſhould meet with Giſgo's fate. And, indeed, the rebels immediately came to this unanimous reſolution, *viz.* to treat all ſuch Carthaginians as ſhould fall into their hands in the ſame barbarous manner; and decreed further, that if any of their allies were taken, they ſhould, after their hands were cut off, be ſent back to Carthage. This bloody reſolution was but too punctually executed.

The Carthaginians were now juſt beginning to breathe, as it were, and recover their ſpirits, when a number of unlucky accidents plunged them again into freſh dangers. A diviſion aroſe among their generals; and the proviſions, of which they were in extreme neceſſity, coming to them by ſea, were all caſt away in a ſtorm. But their moſt grievous misfortune was, the ſudden defection of the two only cities, which till then had preſerved their allegiance, and in all times adhered inviolably to the commonwealth. Theſe were Utica and Hippacra. Theſe cities, without the leaſt reaſon, or even ſo much as a pretence, went over at once to the rebels; and, tranſported with the like rage and fury, murdered the governor, with the garriſon ſent to their relief; and carried their inhumanity ſo far, as to refuſe their dead bodies to the Carthaginians, who demanded them back in order for burial.

The rebels, animated by ſo much ſucceſs, laid ſiege to Carthage, but were obliged immediately to raiſe it. They nevertheleſs continued the war. Having drawn together, into one body, all their own troops and thoſe of the allies, making upwards of 50,000 men in all, they watched the motions of Hamilcar's army, but carefully kept their own on the hills, and avoided coming down into the plains, becauſe the enemy would there have been ſo much ſuperior to them, on account of their elephants and horſes. Hamilcar, more ſkilful in the art of war than they, never expoſed himſelf to any of their attacks; but taking advantage of their overſights, often diſpoſſeſſed them of their poſts, if their ſoldiers ſtraggled but ever ſo little, and haraſſed them a thouſand ways. Such of them as fell into his hands were thrown to wild beaſts. At laſt, he ſurpriſed them at a time when they leaſt expected it, and ſhut them up in a poſt which was ſo ſituated, that it was impoſſible

for them to get out of it. Not daring to venture a battle, and being unable to get off, they began to fortify their camp, and ſurround it with ditches and intrenchments. But an enemy within themſelves, and which was much more formidable, had reduced them to the greateſt extremity: this was hunger, which was ſo raging, that they at laſt ate one another; divine Providence, ſays Polybius, thus revenging upon themſelves the barbarous cruelty they had exerciſed on others. They now had no reſource left, and knew but too well the puniſhments which would be inflicted on them, in caſe they ſhould fall alive into the hands of the enemy. After ſuch bloody ſcenes as had been acted by them, they did not ſo much as think of peace, or of coming to an accommodation. They had ſent to their forces encamped at Tunis for aſſiſtance, but with no ſucceſs. In the mean time the famine increaſed daily. They had firſt eat their priſoners, then their ſlaves, and now their fellow-citizens only were left to be devoured. Their chiefs, now no longer able to reſiſt the complaints and cries of the multitude, who threatened to cut all their throats, if they did not ſurrender, went themſelves to Hamilcar, after having obtained a ſafe conduct from him. The conditions of the treaty were, that the Carthaginians ſhould ſelect any ten of the rebels, to treat them as they ſhould think fit, and that the reſt ſhould be diſmiſſed with only one ſuit of cloaths for each. When the treaty was ſigned, the chiefs themſelves were arreſted, and detained by the Carthaginians, who plainly ſhowed, on this occaſion, that they were not over-ſcrupulous in point of honeſty. The rebels, hearing that their chiefs were ſeized, and knowing nothing of the convention, ſuſpected that they were betrayed, and thereupon immediately took up arms. But Hamilcar, having ſurrounded them, brought forward his elephants, and either trod them all under foot, or cut them to pieces, they being upwards of 40,000.

The conſequence of this victory was, the reduction of almoſt all the cities of Africa, which immediately returned to their allegiance. Hamilcar, without loſs of time, marched againſt Tunis, which, ever ſince the beginning of the war, had been the aſylum of the rebels, and their place of arms. He inveſted it on one ſide, whilſt Hannibal, who was joined in the command with him, beſieged it on the other. Then advancing near the walls, and ordering croſſes to be ſet up, he hung Spendius on one of them, and his companions who had been ſeized with him on the reſt, where they all expired. Matho, the other chief, who commanded in the city, ſaw plainly by this

this what he himself might expect; and, for that reason, was much more attentive to his own defence. Perceiving that Hannibal, as being confident of success, was very negligent in all things, he made a sally, attacked his quarters, killed many of his men, took several prisoners, among whom was Hannibal himself, and plundered his camp. Then taking Spendius from the cross, he put Hannibal in his place, after having made him suffer inexpressible torments, and sacrificed round the body of Spendius 30 citizens of the first quality in Carthage, as so many victims of his vengeance. One would conclude, that there had been a mutual emulation betwixt the contending parties, which of them should outdo the other in acts of the most barbarous cruelty.

Barcha being at such a distance from his colleague, it was some time before his misfortune reached him; and besides, the road lying betwixt the two camps being impracticable, it was impossible for him to advance hastily to his assistance. This unlucky accident caused a great consternation in Carthage. The reader may have observed, in the course of this war, a continual vicissitude of prosperity and adversity, of security and fear, of joy and grief; so various and inconstant were the events on either side.

In Carthage it was thought advisable to make one bold push for all. Accordingly, all the youth capable of bearing arms were pressed into the service. Hanno was sent to join Hamilcar; and 30 senators were deputed to conjure these generals, in the name of the republic, to forget past quarrels, and sacrifice their resentments to their country's welfare. This was immediately complied with; they mutually embraced, and were reconciled sincerely to one another.

From this time, the Carthaginians were successful in all things; and Matho, who, in every attempt after this, came off with disadvantage, at last thought himself obliged to hazard a battle; and this was just what the Carthaginians wanted. The leaders on both sides animated their troops, as going to fight a battle, which would for ever decide their fate. An engagement immediately ensued. Victory was not long in suspence; for the rebels every-where giving ground, the Africans were almost all slain, and the rest surrendered. Matho was taken alive, and carried to Carthage. All Africa returned immediately to its allegiance, except the two perfidious cities which had lately revolted; however, they were soon forced to surrender at discretion.

And now the victorious army returned to Carthage, and was there received with shouts of joy, and the congratulations of

the whole city. Matho and his ſoldiers, after having adorned the public triumph, were led to execution, and finiſhed, by a painful and ignominious death, a life that had been polluted with the blackeſt treaſons, and unparallelled barbarities. Such was the concluſion of the war with the mercenaries, after having laſted three years and four months. It furniſhed, ſays Polybius, an ever-memorable leſſon to all nations, not to employ in their armies a greater number of mercenaries than citizens, nor to rely, for the defence of their ſtate, on a body of men who are not attached to it either by intereſt or affection.

I hitherto purpoſely deferred taking notice of ſuch tranſactions in Sardinia as paſſed at the time I have been ſpeaking of, and which were, in ſome meaſure, dependent on, and conſequential of the war waged in Africa againſt the mercenaries. They exhibit the ſame violent methods to promote rebellion, the ſame exceſſes of cruelty; as if the wind had carried the ſame ſpirit of diſcord and fury from Africa into Sardinia.

When the news was brought there of what Spendius and Matho were doing in Africa, the mercenaries in that iſland alſo ſhook off the yoke, in imitation of thoſe incendiaries. They began by the murder of Boſtar their general, and of all the Carthaginians under him. A ſucceſſor was ſent; but all the forces which he carried with him went over to the rebels; hung the general on a croſs; and, throughout the whole iſland, put all the Carthaginians to the ſword, after having made them ſuffer inexpreſſible torments. They then beſieged all the cities one after another, and ſoon got poſſeſſion of the whole country. But feuds ariſing between them and the natives, the mercenaries were drove entirely out of the iſland, and took ſanctuary in Italy. Thus the Carthaginians loſt Sardinia, an iſland of great importance to them, on account of its extent, its fertility, and the great number of its inhabitants.

The Romans, ever ſince their treaty with the Carthaginians, had behaved towards them with great juſtice and moderation. A ſlight quarrel, on account of ſome Roman merchants who were ſeized at Carthage, for their having ſupplied the enemy with proviſions, had embroiled them a little. But their merchants being reſtored on the firſt complaint made to the ſenate of Carthage, the Romans, who loved to diſplay their juſtice and generoſity on all occaſions, made the Carthaginians a return for their ancient friendſhip; ſerved them to the utmoſt of their power; forbade their merchants to furniſh any other nation with proviſions; and even refuſed to liſten to the propoſals made by the Sardinian rebels, when invited by them to take poſſeſſion of the iſland.

But

But these scruples and delicacy wore off by degrees; and Cæsar's advantageous testimony, in Sallust, of their honesty and plain-dealing, could not, with any propriety, be applied here*: "Although," says he, "in all the Punic wars, the Carthaginians, both in peace and during truces, had committed a number of detestable actions, the Romans could never, how inviting soever the opportunity might be, be prevailed upon to retaliate such usage; they being more attentive to their own glory, than to the revenge they might have justly taken on such perfidious enemies."

† The mercenaries, who, as was observed, had retired into Italy, brought the Romans at last to the resolution of sailing over into Sardinia, to render themselves masters of it. The Carthaginians were deeply afflicted at the news, upon pretence that they had a more just title to Sardinia than the Romans. They therefore put themselves in a posture to take a speedy and just revenge on those who had excited the people of that island to take up arms against them. But the Romans, pretending that these preparations were made, not against Sardinia, but their state, declared war against the Carthaginians. The latter, quite exhausted in every respect, and scarce beginning to breathe, were in no condition to sustain a war. The necessity of the times was therefore to be complied with, and they were forced to yield to a more powerful rival. A fresh treaty was thereupon made, by which they gave up Sardinia to the Romans, and obliged themselves to a new payment of 1200 talents, to keep off the war with which they were menaced. This injustice of the Romans was the true cause of the second Punic war, as will appear in the sequel.

ARTICLE II.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

The second Punic war‡, which I am now going to relate, is one of the most memorable recorded in history, and most worthy of the attention of an inquisitive reader; whether we consider the boldness of the enterprises; the wisdom employed in the execution; the obstinate efforts of two rival nations, and

* Bellis Punicis omnibus, cum sæpe Carthaginienses et in pace et per inducias multa nefanda facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere: magis quod se dignum foret, quam quod in illos jure fieri posset, quærebant. Sallust. in. bell. Catilin.

† A. M. 3767. A. Carth. 609. A. Rom. 511. Ant. J. C. 237.

‡ Liv. l. xxi. n. 1.

the

the ready resources they found in their lowest ebb of fortune; the variety of uncommon events, and the uncertain issue of so long and bloody a war; or lastly, the assemblage of the most perfect models in every kind of merit, and the most instructive lessons that occur in history, either with regard to war, policy, or government. Never did two more powerful, or at least more warlike states or nations make war against each other, and never had these in question seen themselves raised to a more exalted pitch of power and glory. Rome and Carthage were, doubtless, the two first states of the world. Having already tried their strength in the first Punic war, and thereby made an essay of each other's power, they knew perfectly well what either could do. In this second war, the fate of arms was so equally balanced, and the success so intermixed with vicissitudes and varieties, that that party triumphed which had been most exposed to ruin. Great as the forces of these two nations were, it may almost be said, that their mutual hatred was still greater. The Romans, on one side, could not with any patience see the vanquished presuming to attack them; and the Carthaginians, on the other, were exasperated at the equally rapacious and mean treatment which they pretended to have received from the victor.

The plan which I have laid down does not permit me to enter into an exact detail of this war, whereof Italy, Sicily, Spain, and Africa, were the several seats; and which has a still closer connection with the Roman history than with that I am now writing. I shall confine myself therefore, principally, to such transactions as relate to the Carthaginians, and endeavour, as far as I am able, to give my reader an idea of the genius and character of Hannibal, who perhaps was the greatest warrior that antiquity has to boast of.

THE REMOTE AND MORE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

Before I come to speak of the declaration of war betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians, I think it necessary to lay down the true causes of it, and to point out by what steps this rupture betwixt these two nations was so long preparing, before it broke out into an open flame.

That man would be grossly mistaken, says Polybius*, who should look upon the taking of Saguntum by Hannibal as the true cause of the second Punic war. The regret of the Carthaginians, for their having so tamely given up Sicily, by the

* Lib. iii. p. 162—168.

treaty

treaty which terminated the firſt Punic war; the injuſtice and violence of the Romans, who took advantage, from the troubles excited in Africa, to diſpoſſeſs the Carthaginians of Sardinia, and to impoſe a new tribute on them; and the ſucceſs and conqueſts of the latter in Spain: theſe were the true cauſes of the violation of the treaty, as Livy*, agreeing here with Polybius, inſinuates in few words, in the beginning of his hiſtory of the ſecond Punic war.

† And indeed Hamilcar, ſurnamed Barcha, was highly exaſperated on account of the laſt treaty which the neceſſity of the times had compelled the Carthaginians to ſubmit to; and he therefore meditated the deſign of taking juſt, though diſtant meaſures, for breaking it the firſt favourable opportunity that ſhould offer.

When the troubles of Africa were appeaſed, he was ſent upon an expedition againſt the Numidians; in which, giving freſh proofs of his courage and abilities, his merit raiſed him to the command of the army which was to act in Spain. ‡ Hannibal his ſon, at that time but nine years of age, begged with the utmoſt importunity to attend him on this occaſion, and for that purpoſe employed all the ſoothing arts ſo common to children of his age, and which have ſo much power over a tender father. Hamilcar could not refuſe him; and after having made him ſwear upon the altar, that he would declare himſelf an enemy to the Romans as ſoon as his age would allow him to do it, he took his ſon with him.

Hamilcar poſſeſſed all the qualities which conſtitute the great general. To an invincible courage, and the moſt conſummate prudence, he added a moſt popular and inſinuating behaviour. He ſubdued, in a very ſhort time, the greateſt part of the nations of Spain, either by the terror of his arms, or his engaging conduct; and, after enjoying the command there nine years, came to an end worthy his exalted character, dying glorioufly in arms for the cauſe of his country.

§ The Carthaginians appointed Aſdrubal, his ſon-in-law, to ſucceed him. This general, to ſecure the country, built a city, which, by the advantage of its ſituation, the commodiouſneſs of its harbour, its fortifications, and flow of wealth through its

* Angebant ingentis ſpiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amiſſæ: Nam et Siciliam nimis celeri deſperatione rerum conceſſam; et Sardiniam inter motum Africæ fraude Romanorum, ſtipendio eitiam ſuperimpoſito, interceptam. Liv. l. xxi. n. 1.

† Polyb. l. ii. p. 90. ‡ Ibid. l. iii. p. 127. Liv. l. xxi. n. 1.

§ A. M. 3776. A. Com. 520. Polyb. l. ii. p. 101.

great

great commerce, became one of the moſt conſiderable cities in the world. It was called New Carthage, and to this day is known by the name of Carthagena.

From the ſeveral ſteps of theſe two great generals, it was eaſy to perceive that they were meditating ſome mighty deſign, which they had always in view, and laid their ſchemes at a great diſtance for the putting it in execution. The Romans were ſenſible of this, and reproached themſelves for their indolence and ſloth, which had thrown them into a kind of lethargy, at a time when the enemy were rapidly purſuing their victories in Spain, which might one day be turned againſt them. They would have been very well pleaſed to attack them by open force, and to wreſt their conqueſts out of their hands; but the fear of another, not leſs formidable, enemy, the Gauls, kept them from ſhowing their reſentments. They therefore had recourſe to negotiations, and concluded a treaty with Aſdrubal, in which, without taking any notice of the reſt of Spain, they contented themſelves with introducing an article, by which the Carthaginians were not allowed to make any conqueſts beyond the Iberus.

* Aſdrubal, in the mean time, ſtill puſhed on his conqueſts, but took care not to paſs beyond the limits ſtipulated by the treaty; and ſparing no endeavours to win the chiefs of the ſeveral nations, by a courteous and engaging behaviour, he brought them over to the intereſt of Carthage, more by perſuaſive methods than force of arms. But unhappily, after having governed Spain eight years, he was treacherouſly murdered by a Gaul, who took ſo barbarous a revenge for a private grudge he bore him †.

‡ Three years before his death, he had writ to Carthage, to deſire that Hannibal, then twenty-two years of age, might be ſent to him. The propoſal met with ſome difficulty, as the ſenate was divided betwixt two powerful factions, which, from Hamilcar's time, had began to follow oppoſite views, in the adminiſtration and affairs of the ſtate. One faction was headed

* Polyb. l. ii. p. 123. Liv. l. xxi. n. 2.

† The murder was an effect of the extraordinary fidelity of this Gaul, whoſe maſter had fallen by the hand of Aſdrubal. It was perpetrated in public; and the murderer being ſeized by the guards, and put to the torture, expreſſed ſo ſtrong a ſatisfaction in the thoughts of his having executed his revenge ſo ſucceſsfully, that he ſeemed to inſult all the terror of his torments. Eo fuit habitu oris, ut ſuperante lætitia dolores, ridentis etiam ſpeciem præbuerit. Liv. l. xxi. n. 1.

‡ A. M. 3783. A. Rom. 530. Liv. l. xxi. n. 3, 4.

by

by Hanno, whose birth, merit, and zeal for the public welfare, gave him great influence in the public deliberations. This faction proposed, on every occasion, the concluding of a safe peace, and the preserving the conquests in Spain, as being preferable to the uncertain events of an expensive war, which the members of it foresaw would one day occasion the ruin of Carthage. The other, called the Barcinian faction, because it supported the interest of Barcha and his family, had, to its ancient merit and credit in the city, added the reputation which the signal exploits of Hamilcar and Asdrubal had given it; and declared openly for war. When therefore Asdrubal's demand came to be disputed in the senate, Hanno represented the danger of sending so early into the field, a young man, who had all the haughtiness and imperious temper of his father; and who ought, therefore, rather to be kept a long time, and very carefully under the eye of the magistrates, and the power of the laws, that he might learn obedience, and a modesty which should teach him not to think himself superior to all other men. He concluded with saying, that he feared this spark which was then kindling would one day rise to a conflagration. His remonstrances were not heard, so that the Barcinian faction had the superiority, and Hannibal set out for Spain.

The moment of his arrival there, he drew upon himself the eyes of the whole army, who fancied they saw Hamilcar his father survive in him. He seemed to dart the same fire from his eyes; the same martial vigour displayed itself in the air of his countenance, with the same features and engaging carriage. But his personal qualities endeared him still more. He possessed almost every talent that constitute the great man. His patience in labour was invincible, his temperance was surprising, his courage in the greatest dangers intrepid, and his presence of mind in the heat of battle admirable; and (a still more wonderful circumstance) his disposition and cast of mind were so flexible, that nature had formed him equally for commanding or obeying; so that it was doubtful whether he was dearest to the soldiers or the generals. He served three campaigns under Asdrubal.

* The suffrages of both the army and people concurred to raise him to the supreme command, upon the death of Asdrubal. I know not whether it was not even then, or about that

* A. M. 3784. A. Carth. 626. A. Rom. 528. Polyb. l. iii. p. 178, 179. Liv. l. xxi. n. 3—5.

time,

time, that the republic, to heighten his credit and authority, advanced him to the firſt dignity of the ſtate, that of one of its ſuffetes, which was ſometimes conferred upon generals. It is from Cornelius Nepos * that we have borrowed this circumſtance of his life, who, ſpeaking of the prætorſhip beſtowed on Hannibal, upon his return to Carthage, and the concluſion of the peace, ſays, that this was 22 years after he had been nominated king †.

The moment he was created general, Hannibal, as if Italy had been allotted to him, and he was even then appointed to make war upon the Romans, turned ſecretly his whole views on that ſide, and loſt no time, for fear of being prevented by death, as his father and brother-in-law had been. In Spain he took ſeveral ſtrong towns, and conquered many nations. Though the Spaniards had ſo much advantage over him with regard to the number of forces, their army amounting to upwards of 100,000 men, yet he choſe his time and poſts ſo happily, that he entirely defeated them. After this victory, every thing ſubmitted to his arms. But he ſtill forbore laying ſiege to Saguntum ‡, carefully avoiding every occaſion of a rupture with the Romans, till he ſhould be furniſhed with all things neceſſary for ſo important an enterpriſe, purſuant to the advice given him by his father. He applied himſelf particularly to engage the affections of the citizens and allies, and to gain their confidence, by generouſly allotting them a large ſhare of the plunder taken from the enemy, and by paying them all their arrears §: a wiſe ſtep, which never fails of producing its advantage at a proper ſeaſon.

‖ The Saguntines, on their ſide, ſenſible of the danger with which they were threatened, from the continued ſucceſſes of Hannibal, advertiſed the Romans of them. Upon this, deputies were nominated by the latter, and ordered to go and take a perſonal information upon the ſpot; they commanded them alſo to lay their complaints before Hannibal, if it ſhould be thought proper; and in caſe he ſhould refuſe to do juſtice,

* In Vit. Annib. c. 7.

† Hic ut rediit Prætor factus eſt, poſtquam rex fuerat anno ſecundo et vigeſimo.

‡ This city lay on the Carthaginian ſide of the Iberus, very near the mouth of that river, and in a country where the Carthaginians were allowed to make war; but Saguntum, as an ally of the Romans, was excepted from all hoſtilities, by virtue of the late treaty.

§ Ibi large partiendo prædam, ſtipendia præterita cum fide exolvendo, cunctos civium ſociorumque animos in ſe firmavit. Liv. l. xxi. n. 5.

‖ Polyb. l. iii. p. 170, 171. Liv. l. xxi. n. 6—15.

that

that then they ſhould go directly to Carthage, and make the ſame complaints.

In the mean time Hannibal laid ſiege to Saguntum, promiſing himſelf great advantages from the taking of this city. He was perſuaded, that this would deprive the Romans of all hopes of carrying the war into Spain; that this new conqueſt would ſecure the old ones; that no enemy would be left behind him, a circumſtance which would render his march more ſecure and unmoleſted; that he ſhould find money enough in it for the execution of his deſigns; that the plunder of the city would inſpire his ſoldiers with great ardour, and make them follow him with the greater cheerfulneſs; that, laſtly, the ſpoils which he ſhould ſend to Carthage would gain him the favour of the citizens. Animated by theſe motives, he carried on the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour. He himſelf ſet an example to his troops, was preſent at all the works, and expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers.

News was ſoon carried to Rome that Saguntum was beſieged. But the Romans, inſtead of flying to its relief, loſt their time in fruitleſs debates, and equally inſignificant deputations. Hannibal ſent word to the Roman deputies that he was not at leiſure to hear them. They therefore repaired to Carthage, but with no better ſucceſs, the Barcinian faction having prevailed over the complaints of the Romans, and all the remonſtrances of Hanno.

During theſe voyages and negotiations, the ſiege was carried on with great vigour. The Saguntines were now reduced to the laſt extremity, and in want of all things. An accommodation was thereupon propoſed; but the conditions on which it was offered appeared ſo harſh, that the Saguntines could not ſo much as think of accepting them. Before they gave their final anſwer, the principal ſenators, bringing their gold and ſilver, and that of the public treaſury, into the market-place, threw both into a fire lighted for that purpoſe, and afterwards themſelves. At the ſame time a tower, which had been long aſſaulted by the battering rams, falling with a dreadful noiſe, the Carthaginians entered the city by the breach, ſoon made themſelves maſters of it, and cut to pieces all the inhabitants who were of age to bear arms. But, notwithſtanding the fire, the Carthaginians got a very great booty. Hannibal did not reſerve to himſelf any part of the ſpoils gained by his victories, but applied them ſolely to the carrying on of his enterpriſes. Accordingly Polybius remarks, that the taking of Saguntum was of ſervice to him, as it awakened the ardour of

his ſoldiers, by the ſight of the rich booty which it had afforded, and by the hopes of more; and it reconciled the principal perſons of Carthage to Hannibal, by the large preſents he made to them out of its ſpoils.

* Words could never expreſs the grief and conſternation with which the news of the taking, and the cruel fate of Saguntum, was received at Rome. Compaſſion for an unfortunate city, ſhame for their having failed to ſuccour ſuch faithful allies, a juſt indignation againſt the Carthaginians, the authors of all theſe calamities; the ſtrong alarms raiſed by the ſucceſſes of Hannibal, whom the Romans fancied they ſaw already at their gates; all theſe ſentiments were ſo violent, that, during the firſt movements of them, the Romans were unable to come to any reſolution, or do any thing, but give way to the torrent of their paſſion, and ſacrifice floods of tears to the memory of a city, which lay in ruins becauſe of its inviolable fidelity † to the Romans, and had been betrayed by their unaccountable indolence and imprudent delays. When they were a little recovered, an aſſembly of the people was called, and war was decreed unanimouſly againſt the Carthaginians.

WAR PROCLAIMED.

‡ That no ceremony might be wanting, deputies were ſent to Carthage, to inquire whether Saguntum had been beſieged by order of the republic, and, if ſo, to declare war; or, in caſe this ſiege had been undertaken ſolely by the authority of Hannibal, to require that he ſhould be delivered up to the Romans. The deputies perceiving, that the ſenate gave no direct anſwer to their demands, one of them taking up the folded lappet of his robe, "I bring here," ſays he, in a haughty tone, "either "peace or war; the choice is left to yourſelves." The ſenate anſwering, that they left the choice to him, "I give you war "then," ſays he, unfolding his robe. "And we," replied the Carthaginians, with the ſame haughtineſs, "as heartily accept "it, and are reſolved to proſecute it with the ſame cheerful-"neſs." Such was the beginning of the ſecond Punic war.

§ If the cauſe of this war ſhould be aſcribed to the taking of Saguntum, the whole blame, ſays Polybius, lies upon the Carthaginians, who could not, with any colourable pretence, beſiege a city that was in alliance with Rome, and as ſuch

* Polyb. p. 174, 175. Liv. l. xxi. n. 16, 17.

† Sanctitate diſciplinæ, qua fidem ſocialem uſque ad perniciem ſuam coluerunt. Liv. l. xxi. n. 7.

‡ Polyb. p. 187. Liv. l. xxi. n. 18, 19. § Polyb. l. iii. p. 184, 185.

comprehended

comprehended in the treaty, which forbade either party to make war upon the allies of the other. But, ſhould the origin of the war be traced higher, and carried back to the time when the Carthaginians were diſpoſſeſſed of Sardinia by the Romans, and a new tribute was ſo unreaſonably impoſed on them, it muſt be confeſſed, continues Polybius, that the conduct of the Romans is entirely unjuſtifiable on theſe two points, as being founded merely on violence and injuſtice; and that, had the Carthaginians, without having recourſe to ambiguous and frivolous pretences, plainly demanded ſatisfaction upon theſe two grievances, and, upon their being refuſed it, had declared war againſt Rome, in that caſe reaſon and juſtice had been entirely on their ſide.

The interval between the concluſion of the firſt, and the beginning of the ſecond Punic war, was 24 years.

THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

* When war was reſolved upon, and proclaimed on both ſides, Hannibal, who was then 26 or 27 years of age, before he diſcovered his grand deſign, thought it incumbent on him to provide for the ſecurity of Spain and Africa. With this view, he marched the forces out of the one into the other, ſo that the Africans ſerved in Spain, and the Spaniards in Africa. He was prompted to this from a perſuaſion, that theſe ſoldiers, being thus at a diſtance from their reſpective countries, would be fitter for ſervice, and more firmly attached to him, as they would be a kind of hoſtages for each other's fidelity. The forces which he left in Africa amounted to about 40,000 men, 1200 whereof were horſe: thoſe of Spain were ſomething above 15,000, of which 2,550 were horſe. He left the command of the Spaniſh forces to his brother Aſdrubal, with a fleet of about 60 ſhips to guard the coaſts; and at the ſame time gave him the wiſeſt counſel for his conduct whether with regard to the Spaniards or the Romans, in caſe they ſhould attack him.

Livy obſerves, that Hannibal, before he ſet forward on this expedition, went to Cadiz to diſcharge his vows made to Hercules; and that he engaged himſelf by new ones, in order to obtain ſucceſs in the war he was entering upon. † Polybius gives us, in few words, a very clear idea of the diſtance of the ſeveral places through which Hannibal was to march, in his

* A. M. 3787. A. Carth. 629. A. Rom. 531. Ant. J. C. 217. Polyb. l. iii. p. 187. Liv. l. xxi. n. 21, 22. † Lib. iii. p. 192, 193.

way to Italy. From New Carthage, whence he set out, to the Iberus, were computed 2,200 * furlongs†. From the Iberus to Emporium, a small maritime town which separates Spain from the Gauls, according to ‡ Strabo, were 1600 furlongs§. From Emporium to the pass of the Rhone, the like space of 1600 furlongs‖. From the pass of the Rhone, to the Alps, 1400 furlongs**. From the Alps, to the plains of Italy, 1200 furlongs††. Thus, from New Carthage to the plains of Italy, were 8000 furlongs‡‡.

§§ Hannibal had, long before, taken all the proper measures to discover the nature and situation of the places through which he was to pass; to sound how the Gauls stood affected to the Romans; to win over their chiefs, who he knew were very greedy of gold, by his bounty to them‖‖; and to secure to himself the affection and fidelity of one part of the nations through whose country his march lay. He was not ignorant, that the passage of the Alps would be attended with great difficulties, but he knew they were not unsurmountable, and that was enough for his purpose.

*** Hannibal began his march early in the spring from New Carthage, where he had wintered. His army then consisted of above 100,000 men, of which 12,000 were horse, and he had near 40 elephants. Having crossed the Iberus, he soon subdued the several nations which opposed him in his march, and lost a considerable part of his army in this expedition. He left Hanno to command all the country lying between the Iberus and the Pyrenean hills, with 11,000 men, who were appointed to guard the baggage of those that were to follow him. He dismissed the like number, sending them back to their respective countries; thus securing to himself their affection when he should want recruits, and assuring the rest that they should be allowed to return whenever they should desire it. He passed the Pyrenean hills, and advanced as far as the banks of the Rhone, at the head of 50,000 foot, and 9000

* 275 miles.

† Polybius makes the distance from New Carthage to be 2600 furlongs; consequently the whole number of furlongs will be 8400, or, allowing 625 feet to the furlong, 994 English miles, and almost one third. See Polybius, Gronov. edit. p. 267.

‡ L. iii. p. 299. § 200 miles. ‖ 200 miles. ** 175 miles.
†† 150 miles. ‡‡ 1000 miles. §§ Polyb. l. iii. p. 188, 189.

‖‖ Audierunt præoccupatos jam ab Annibale Gallorum animos esse: sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore, ni subinde auro, cujus avidissima gens est, principum animi concilientur. Liv. l. xxi. n. 20.

*** Polyb. l. iii. p. 190. Liv. l. xxi. n. 23—24.

horse;

horſe; a formidable army, but leſs ſo from the number than from the valour of the troops that compoſed it; troops who had ſerved ſeveral years in Spain, and learned the art of war under the ableſt captains that Carthage could ever boaſt.

PASSAGE OF THE RHONE.

*Hannibal being arrived within about four days march from the mouth of the Rhone†, attempted to croſs it, becauſe the river, in this place, took up only the breadth of its channel. He bought up all the ſhip-boats and little veſſels he could meet with, of which the inhabitants had a great number, becauſe of their commerce. He likewiſe built with great diligence a prodigious number of boats, little veſſels, and floats of timber. On his arrival, he found the Gauls encamped on the oppoſite bank, and prepared to diſpute the paſſage. There was no poſſibility of his attacking them in the front. He therefore ordered a conſiderable detachment of his forces, under the command of Hanno, the ſon of Bomilcar, to paſs the river higher; and, in order to conceal his march, and the deſign he had in view, from the enemy, he obliged them to ſet out in the night. All things ſucceeded as he deſired; and the river was paſſed ‡ the next day without the leaſt oppoſition.

They paſſed the reſt of the day in refreſhing themſelves, and, in the night, they advanced ſilently towards the enemy. In the morning, when the ſignals agreed upon had been given, Hannibal prepared to attempt the paſſage. Part of his horſes, completely harneſſed, were put into boats, that their riders might, on their landing, immediately charge the enemy. The reſt of the horſes ſwam over on both ſides of the boats, from which one ſingle man held the bridles of three or four. The infantry croſſed the river, either on floats of timber, or in ſmall boats, and in a kind of gondolas, which were only the trunks of trees they themſelves had made hollow. The great boats were drawn up in a line at the top of the channel, in order to break the force of the waves, and facilitate the paſſage to the reſt of the ſmall fleet. When the Gauls ſaw it advancing on the river, they, according to their cuſtom, broke into dreadful cries and howlings; and, claſhing their bucklers over their heads, one againſt the other, let fly a ſhower of darts. But they were prodigiouſly aſtoniſhed, when they heard a great noiſe behind them, ſaw their tents on fire, and themſelves at-

* Polyb. l. iii. p. 270—274. Edit. Gronov. Liv. l. xxi. n. 26—28.
† A little above Avignon.
‡ It is thought that it was betwixt Requemaure and Pont St. Eſprit.

tacked both in front and rear. They now had no way left but to save themselves by flight, and accordingly retreated to their respective villages. After this, the rest of the troops crossed the river quietly, and without any opposition.

The elephants were still behind, and occasioned a great deal of trouble. They were wafted over next day in the following manner. From the bank of the river was thrown a float of timber, 200 feet in length, and 50 in breadth; this was fixed strongly to the banks by large ropes, and quite covered over with earth; so that the elephants, deceived by its appearance, thought themselves upon firm ground. From this first float they proceeded to a second, which was built in the same form, but only 100 feet long, and fastened to the former by chains that were easily loosened. The female elephants were put upon the first float, and the males followed after; and, when they were got upon the second float, it was loosened from the first, and, by the help of small boats, towed to the opposite shore. After this, it was sent back to fetch those which were behind. Some fell into the water, but they at last got safe to shore, and not a single elephant was drowned.

THE MARCH AFTER THE BATTLE OF THE RHONE.

* The two Roman consuls had, in the beginning of the spring, set out for their respective provinces; P. Scipio for Spain with 60 ships, two Roman legions, 14,000 foot, and 1200 horse of the allies; Tiberius Sempronius for Sicily, with 160 ships, two legions, 16,000 foot and 1800 horse of the allies. The Roman legion consisted, at that time, of 4000 foot and 300 horse. Sempronius had made extraordinary preparations at Lilybæum, a sea-port town in Sicily, with the design of crossing over directly into Africa. Scipio was equally confident, that he should find Hannibal still in Spain, and make that country the seat of war. But he was greatly astonished, when, on his arrival at Marseilles, advice was brought him, that Hannibal was upon the banks of the Rhone, and preparing to cross it. He then detached 300 horse to view the posture of the enemy; and Hannibal detached 500 Numidian horse for the same purpose; during which, some of his soldiers were employed in wafting over the elephants.

At the same time he gave audience, in presence of his whole army, to a Gaulish prince inhabiting near the Po, who assured him, by an interpreter, in the name of his subjects, that his

* Polyb. l. iii p. 200—202, &c. Liv. l. xxi. n. 31, 32.

arrival

arrival was impatiently expected; that the Gauls were ready to join him, and march againſt the Romans; that he himſelf would conduct his army through places where they ſhould meet with a plentiful ſupply of proviſions. When the prince was withdrawn, Hannibal, in a ſpeech to his troops, magnified extremely this deputation from the Gauls; extolled, with juſt praiſes, the bravery which his forces had ſhown hitherto; and exhorted them to ſuſtain, to the laſt, their reputation and glory. The ſoldiers, inſpired with freſh ardour and courage, declared, with uplifted hands, their readineſs to follow whitherſoever he ſhould lead the way. Accordingly he appointed the next day for his march; and, after offering up vows, and making ſupplications to the gods for the ſafety of his troops, he diſmiſſed them; deſiring, at the ſame time, that they would take the neceſſary refreſhments.

Whilſt this was doing, the Numidians returned. They had met with and charged the Roman detachment; on which occaſion the conflict was very obſtinate, and the ſlaughter great, conſidering the ſmall number of the combatants. 160 of the Romans were left dead upon the ſpot, and more than 200 of their enemies. But the honour of this ſkirmiſh fell to the Romans, the Numidians having retired and left them the field of battle. This firſt action was interpreted as an omen * of the fate of the whole war, and ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs to the Romans, but which at the ſame time would be dearly bought, and ſtrongly conteſted. On both ſides, thoſe who had ſurvived this engagement, as well as the ſcouts, returned to carry the news to their reſpective generals.

Hannibal, as he had declared, decamped the next day, and croſſing through the midſt of Gaul, advanced northward; not that this was the ſhorteſt way to the Alps, but only as it led him from the ſea, it prevented his meeting Scipio; and, by that means, favoured the deſign he had, of marching all his forces, without leſſening them by fighting, into Italy.

Though Scipio marched with the utmoſt expedition, he did not reach the place where Hannibal had paſſed the Rhone till three days after he had ſet out from it. Deſpairing therefore to overtake him, he returned to his fleet, and reimbarked, fully reſolved to wait for Hannibal at the foot of the Alps. But, in order that he might not leave Spain defenceleſs, he ſent his brother Cneius thither, with the greateſt part of his army, to

* Hoc principium ſimulque omen belli, ut ſumma rerum proſperum eventum, ita haud ſane incruentam ancipitiſque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit. Liv. l. xxi. n. 29.

make

make head againſt Aſdrubal, and himſelf ſet forward immediately for Genoa, with intention to oppoſe the army which was in Gaul, near the Po, to that of Hannibal.

The latter, after four days march, arrived at a kind of iſland, formed by the confiux * of two rivers which unite their ſtreams in this place. Here he was choſen umpire between two brothers, who diſputed their right to the kingdom. He to whom Hannibal decreed it, furniſhed his whole army with proviſions, clothes, and arms. This was the country of the Allobroges, by which name the people were called, who now inhabit the juriſdiction of Geneva, † Vienna, and Grenoble. His march was not much interrupted till he arrived at the Durances, and from thence he reached the foot of the Alps without any oppoſition.

THE PASSAGE OVER THE ALPS.

‡ The ſight of theſe mountains, whoſe tops ſeemed to touch the ſkies, and were covered with ſnow, and where nothing appeared to the eye but a few pitiful cottages, ſcattered here and there, on the ſharp tops of inacceſſible rocks; nothing but meagre flocks, almoſt periſhed with cold, and hairy men of a ſavage and fierce aſpect; this ſpectacle, I ſay, renewed the terror, which the diſtant proſpect had raiſed, and ſtruck a prodigious damp on the hearts of the ſoldiers. When they began to climb up, they perceived the mountaineers, who had ſeized upon the higheſt cliffs, and prepared to oppoſe their paſſage. They therefore were forced to halt. Had the mountaineers, ſays Polybius, only lain in ambuſcade, and ſuffered Hannibal's troops to ſtrike into ſome narrow paſſage, and had then charged them on a ſudden, the Carthaginian army would have been irrecoverably loſt. Hannibal, being informed that they kept thoſe poſts only in the day time, and quitted them in the evening, poſſeſſed himſelf of them by night. The Gauls returning early in the morning, were very much ſurpriſed to find their

* The text of Polybius, as it has been tranſmitted to us, and that of Livy, place this iſland at the meeting of the Soane and the Rhone, that is, in that part where the city of Lyons ſtands: but this is a manifeſt error. It was Σκωρας in the Greek, inſtead of which ὁ Ἄραρος has been ſubſtituted. J. Gronovius ſays, that he had read, in a manuſcript of Livy, Biſarat, which ſhews, that we are to read Iſara Rhodanuſque amnes, inſtead of Arar Rhodanuſque; and, that the iſland in queſtion is formed by the conflux of the Iſara and the Rhone. The ſituation of the Allobroges, here ſpoken of, proves this evidently.

† In Dauphine.

‡ Polyb. l. iii. p. 203—208. Liv. l. xxi. n. 32—37.

poſts

poſts in the enemy's hand: but ſtill they were not diſheartened. Being uſed to climb up thoſe rocks, they attacked the Carthaginians who were upon their march, and haraſſed them on all ſides. The latter were obliged, at one and the ſame time, to engage with the enemy, and ſtruggle with the ruggedneſs of the paths of the mountains, where they could hardly ſtand. But the greateſt diſorder was cauſed by the horſes and beaſts of burden, laden with the baggage, that were frighted by the cries and howling of the Gauls, which echoed dreadfully among the mountains; and being ſometimes wounded by the mountaineers, came tumbling on the ſoldiers, and dragged them headlong with them down the precipices which lay cloſe to the road. Hannibal, being ſenſible that the loſs of his baggage only was enough to deſtroy his army, ran to the aſſiſtance of his troops, who were thus embarraſſed; and having put the enemy to flight, continued his march without moleſtation or danger, and came to a caſtle, which was the moſt important fortreſs in the whole country. He poſſeſſed himſelf of it, and of all the neighbouring villages, in which he found a large quantity of corn and cattle ſufficient to ſubſiſt his army three days.

After a pretty quiet march, the Carthaginians were to encounter a new danger. The Gauls, feigning to take advantage of the misfortunes of their neighbours, who had ſuffered for oppoſing the paſſage of Hannibal's troops, came to pay their reſpects to that general, brought him proviſions, offered to be his guides, and left him hoſtages, as pledges of their fidelity. However, Hannibal placed no great confidence in them. The elephants and horſes marched in the front, whilſt himſelf followed with the main body of his foot, keeping a vigilant eye over all things. They came at length to a very ſteep and narrow paſs, which was commanded by an eminence where the Gauls had placed an ambuſcade. Theſe, ruſhing out on a ſudden, charged the Carthaginians on every ſide, rolling down ſtones upon them of a prodigious ſize. The army would have been entirely routed, had not Hannibal exerted himſelf in an extraordinary manner, to extricate them out of this difficulty.

At laſt, on the ninth day, they reached the ſummit of the Alps. Here the army halted two days, to reſt and refreſh themſelves after this fatigue, and afterwards continued their march. As it was now autumn, a great quantity of ſnow was lately fallen, and covered all the roads, which cauſed a diſorder among the troops, and diſheartened them very much. Hannibal

nibal perceived it; and halting on a hill from whence there was a proſpect of all Italy, he ſhewed them the fruitful plains* watered by the river Po, to which they were almoſt come; and therefore that they had but one effort more to make, before they arrived at them. He repreſented to them, that a battle or two would put a glorious period to their toils, and enrich them for ever, by giving them poſſeſſion of the capital of the Roman empire. This ſpeech, filled with ſuch pleaſing hopes, and enforced by the ſight of Italy, inſpired the dejected ſoldiers with freſh vigour and alacrity. They therefore purſued their march: but ſtill the road was more craggy and troubleſome than ever; and the difficulty and danger increaſed in proportion as they came lower down the mountain. For the ways were narrow, ſteep, and ſlippery, in moſt places; ſo that the ſoldiers could neither keep upon their feet as they marched, nor recover themſelves when they made a falſe ſtep, but ſtumbled, and beat down one another.

They now were come to a worſe place than any they had yet met with. This was a path naturally very ſteep and craggy, which being made more ſo by the late falling in of the earth, terminated in a frightful precipice above 1000 feet deep. Here the cavalry ſtopped ſhort. Hannibal, wondering at this ſudden halt, ran to the place, and ſaw that it really would be impoſſible for the troops to advance farther. He therefore was for going a round-about way, but this alſo was found impracticable. As upon the old ſnow, which was grown hard by lying, there was ſome newly fallen that was of no great depth, the feet, by their ſinking into it, found a firm ſupport; but this ſnow being ſoon diſſolved, by the treading of the foremoſt troops and beaſts of burden, the ſoldiers marched on nothing but ice, which was ſo ſlippery, that there was no ſtanding; and where, if they made the leaſt falſe ſtep, or endeavoured to ſave themſelves with their hands or knees, there were no boughs or roots to catch hold of. Beſides this difficulty, the horſes, ſtriking their feet into the ice to keep themſelves from falling, could not draw them out again, but were caught as in a gin. They therefore were forced to ſeek ſome other expedient.

Hannibal reſolved to pitch his camp, and to give his troops ſome days reſt on the ſummit of this hill, which was of a conſiderable extent; after they ſhould have cleared the ground, and removed all the old as well as the new-fallen ſnow, which

* Of Piedmont.

was

was a work of immenſe labour. He afterwards ordered a path to be cut into the rock itſelf, and this was carried on with amazing patience and ardour. To open and enlarge this path, all the trees thereabouts were cut down, and piled round the rock; after which, fire was ſet to them. The wind, by good fortune, blowing hard, a fierce flame ſoon broke out, ſo that the rock glowed like the very coals with which it was ſurrounded. Then Hannibal, if Livy may be credited (for Polybius ſays nothing of this matter), cauſed a great quantity of vinegar to be poured on the rock*, which piercing into the veins of it, that were now cracked by the intenſe heat of the fire, calcined and ſoftened it. In this manner, taking a large compaſs about, in order that the deſcent might be eaſier, they cut a way along the rock, which opened a free paſſage to the forces, the baggage, and even to the elephants. Four days were employed in this work, during which the beaſts of burden had no provender; there being no food for them on mountains buried under eternal ſnows. At laſt they came into cultivated and fruitful ſpots, which yielded plenty of forage for the horſes, and all kinds of food for the ſoldiers.

HANNIBAL ENTERS ITALY.

When Hannibal marched into Italy†, his army was not near ſo numerous as when he left Spain, where we find it amounted to near 60,000 men. It had ſuſtained great loſſes during the march, either in the battles it was forced to fight, or in the paſſage of rivers. At his departure from the Rhone, it conſiſted of 38,000 foot, and about 8000 horſe. The march over the Alps deſtroyed near half this number; ſo that Hannibal had now remaining only 12,000 Africans, 8000 Spaniſh foot, and 6000 horſe. This account he himſelf cauſed to be engraved on a pillar near the promontory called Lacinium. It was five months and a half ſince his firſt ſetting out from New Carthage, including the fortnight he employed in marching over the Alps, when he ſet up his ſtandards in the plains of

* Many reject this incident as fictitious. Pliny takes notice of a remarkable quality in vinegar, viz. its being able to break rocks and ſtones. Saxa rumpit infuſum, quæ non ruperit ignis antecedens, l. xxiii. c. i. He therefore calls it, Succus rerum domitor, l. xxxiii. c. 2. Dion, ſpeaking of the ſiege of Eleuthera, ſays, that the walls of it were made to fall by the force of vinegar, l. xxxvi. p. 8. Probably, the circumſtance that ſeems improbable on this occaſion, is the difficulty of Hannibal's procuring, in thoſe mountains, a quantity of vinegar ſufficient for this purpoſe.

† Polyb. l. iii. p. 209 & 212—214. Liv. l. xxi. n. 39.

the

the Po, at the entrance of Piedmont. It might then be September.

His firſt care was to give his troops ſome reſt, which they very much wanted. When he perceived that they were fit for action, the inhabitants of all the territories of Turin* refuſing to conclude an alliance with him, he marched and encamped before their chief city; carried it in three days, and put all who had oppoſed him to the ſword. This expedition ſtruck the Barbarians with ſo much dread, that they all came voluntarily, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. The reſt of the Gauls would have done the ſame, had they not been awed by the terror of the Roman arms, which were now approaching. Hannibal thought therefore that he had no time to loſe; that it was his intereſt to march up into the country, and attempt ſome great exploit; ſuch as might induce thoſe who ſhould have an inclination to join him, to rely on his valour.

The rapid progreſs which Hannibal had made greatly alarmed Rome, and cauſed the utmoſt conſternation throughout the city. Sempronius was ordered to leave Sicily, and haſten to the relief of his country; and P. Scipio, the other conſul, advanced with the utmoſt diligence towards the enemy, croſſed the Po, and marched and pitched his camp near the Ticinus†.

BATTLE OF THE CAVALRY NEAR THE TICINUS.

‡ The armies being now in ſight, the generals on each ſide made a ſpeech to their ſoldiers, before they engaged in battle. Scipio, after having repreſented to his forces the glory of their country, and the noble atchievements of their anceſtors, obſerved to them, that victory was in their hands, ſince they were to combat only with Carthaginians, a people who had been ſo often defeated by them, as well as forced to be their tributaries for 20 years, and long accuſtomed to be almoſt their ſlaves: that the advantage they had gained over the flower of the Carthaginian horſe was a ſure omen of their ſucceſs during the reſt of the war: that Hannibal, in marching over the Alps, had juſt before loſt the beſt part of his army; and that thoſe who ſurvived were half dead with hunger, cold, and fatigue: that the bare ſight of the Romans was ſufficient to put to flight a parcel of ſoldiers who had the aſpect of ghoſts rather than of men: in a word, that victory was become neceſſary, not only to ſecure Italy, but to ſave Rome itſelf, whoſe fate

* Taurini. † A ſmall river, now called Teſino, in Lombardy.
‡ Polyb. l. iii. p. 214—218. Liv. l. xxi. n. 39—47.

the

the preſent battle would decide, that city having no other army wherewith to oppoſe the enemy.

Hannibal, that his words might make the ſtronger impreſſion on the rude minds of his ſoldiers, ſpeaks to their eyes, before he addreſſes their ears; and does not attempt to perſuade them by arguments, till he has firſt moved them by the following ſpectacle. He arms ſome of the priſoners he had taken in the mountains, and obliges them to fight two and two, in ſight of his army, promiſing to reward the conquerors with their liberty and rich preſents. The alacrity and vigour wherewith theſe Barbarians engaged upon theſe motives, gives Hannibal an occaſion of exhibiting to his ſoldiers a lively image of their preſent condition; which, by depriving them of all means of returning back, puts them under an abſolute neceſſity either of conquering or dying, in order to avoid the endleſs evils prepared for thoſe that ſhould be ſo baſe and cowardly as to ſubmit to the Romans. He diſplays to them the greatneſs of their reward, *viz.* the conqueſt of all Italy; the plunder of the rich and wealthy city of Rome; an illuſtrious victory, and immortal glory. He ſpeaks contemptibly of the Roman power, the falſe luſtre of which, he obſerved, ought not to dazzle ſuch warriors as themſelves, who had marched from the Pillars of Hercules, through the fierceſt nations, into the very centre of Italy. As for his own part, he ſcorns to compare himſelf with Scipio, a general of but ſix months ſtanding: himſelf, who was almoſt born, at leaſt brought up, in the tent of Hamilcar his father; the conqueror of Spain, of Gaul, of the inhabitants of the Alps, and, what is ſtill more, conqueror of the Alps themſelves. He rouzes their indignation againſt the inſolence of the Romans, who had dared to demand that himſelf, and the reſt who had taken Saguntum, ſhould be delivered up to them; and excites their jealouſy againſt the intolerable pride of thoſe imperious maſters, who imagined that all things ought to obey them, and that they had a right to give laws to the whole world.

After theſe ſpeeches, both ſides prepare for battle. Scipio, having thrown a bridge acroſs the Ticinus, marched his troops over it. Two ill omens * had filled his army with conſterna-

* Theſe two ill omens were, firſt, A wolf had ſtole into the camp of the Romans, and cruelly mangled ſome of the ſoldiers, without receiving the leaſt harm from thoſe who endeavoured to kill it: and, ſecondly, A ſwarm of bees had pitched upon a tree near the prætorium or general's tent. Liv. l. xxi. c. 46.

tion and dread. As for the Carthaginians, they were inſpired with the boldeſt courage. Hannibal animates them with freſh promiſes; and cleaving with a ſtone the ſkull of the lamb he was ſacrificing, he prays Jupiter to daſh to pieces his head in like manner, in caſe he did not give his ſoldiers the rewards he had promiſed them.

Scipio poſts, in the firſt line, the troops armed with miſſive weapons, and the Gauliſh horſe; and forming his ſecond line of the flower of the confederate cavalry, he advances ſlowly. Hannibal advanced with his whole cavalry, in the centre of which he had poſted the troopers who rode with bridles, and the Numidian horſemen on * the wings, in order to ſurround the enemy. The officers and cavalry being eager to engage, a battle enſues. At the firſt onſet, Scipio's light-armed ſoldiers diſcharged their darts, but frighted at the Carthaginian cavalry which came pouring upon them, and fearing leſt they ſhould be trampled under the horſes' feet, they gave way, and retired through the intervals of the ſquadrons. The fight continued a long time with equal ſucceſs. Many troops on both ſides diſmounted, ſo that the battle was carried on between infantry as well as cavalry. In the mean time, the Numidians ſurround the enemy, and charge the rear of the light-armed troops, who at firſt had eſcaped the attack of the cavalry, and tread them under their horſes' feet. The centre of the Roman forces had hitherto fought with great bravery. Many were killed on both ſides, and even more on that of the Carthaginians. But the Roman troops were put into diſorder by the Numidians, who attacked them in the rear, and eſpecially by a wound the conſul had received, which diſabled him. However, this general was reſcued out of the enemy's hands by the bravery of his ſon, then but 17 years old, and who afterwards was honoured with the ſurname of Africanus, for having put a glorious period to this war.

The conſul, though dangerouſly wounded, retreated in good order, and was conveyed to his camp by a body of horſe, who covered him with their arms and bodies: the reſt of the army followed him thither. He haſtened to the Po, which he croſſed with his army, and then broke down the bridge, whereby he prevented Hannibal from overtaking him.

It is agreed, that Hannibal owed this firſt victory to his cavalry; and it was judged from thenceforth, that the main

* The Numidians uſed to ride without ſaddle or bridle.

ſtrength

ſtrength of his army conſiſted in his horſe, and therefore that it would be proper for the Romans to avoid large open plains, like thoſe between the Po and the Alps.

Immediately after the battle of the Ticinus, all the neighbouring Gauls ſeemed to contend who ſhould ſubmit themſelves firſt to Hannibal, furniſh him with ammunition, and inliſt in his army. And this, as Polybius has obſerved, was what chiefly induced that wiſe and ſkilful general, notwithſtanding the ſmall number and weakneſs of his troops, to hazard a battle; which he indeed was now obliged to venture, from the impoſſibility of marching back whenever he ſhould deſire to do it, becauſe nothing but a battle would oblige the Gauls to declare for him; their aſſiſtance being the only refuge he then had left.

BATTLE OF TREBIA.

* Sempronius the conſul, upon the orders he had received from the ſenate, was returned from Sicily to Ariminum. From thence he marched towards Trebia, a ſmall river of Lombardy, which falls into the Po a little above Placentia, where he joined his forces to thoſe of Scipio. Hannibal advanced towards the camp of the Romans, from which he was ſeparated only by that ſmall river. The armies lying ſo near one another, gave occaſion to frequent ſkirmiſhes, in one of which Sempronius, at the head of a body of horſe, gained but a very ſmall advantage over a party of Carthaginians, which nevertheleſs very much increaſed the good opinion this general naturally entertained of his own merit.

This inconſiderable ſucceſs ſeemed to him a complete victory. He boaſted his having vanquiſhed the enemy in the ſame kind of fight in which his colleague had been defeated, and that he thereby had revived the courage of the dejected Romans. Being now reſolutely bent to come as ſoon as poſſible to a deciſive battle, he thought it proper, for decency's ſake, to conſult Scipio, whom he found was of a quite different opinion from himſelf. Scipio repreſented, that in caſe time ſhould be allowed for diſciplining the new levies during the winter, they would be much fitter for ſervice in the enſuing campaign; that the Gauls, who were naturally fickle and inconſtant, would diſengage themſelves inſenſibly from Hannibal; that as ſoon as his wounds ſhould be healed, his preſence might be of ſome uſe in an affair of ſuch general concern: in a word, he beſought him earneſtly not to proceed any farther.

* Polyb. l. xxiii. p. 220—227. Liv. l. xxi. n. 51—6.

Theſe reaſons, though ſo juſt, made no impreſſion upon Sempronius. He ſaw himſelf at the head of 16,000 Romans, and 20,000 allies, excluſive of the cavalry (which number, in thoſe ages, formed a complete army), when both conſuls joined their forces. The troops of the enemy amounted to near the ſame number. He thought the juncture extremely favourable for him: he declared publicly, that all the officers and ſoldiers were deſirous of a battle, except his colleague, whoſe mind, he obſerved, being more affected by his wound than his body, could not, for that reaſon, bear to hear of an engagement: but ſtill, continued Sempronius, is it juſt to let the whole army droop and languiſh with him? What could Scipio expect more? Did he flatter himſelf with the hopes that a third conſul, and a new army, would come to his aſſiſtance? Such were the expreſſions he employed both among the ſoldiers and even about Scipio's tent. The time for the election of new generals drawing near, Sempronius was afraid a ſucceſſor would be ſent before he had put an end to the war; and therefore it was his opinion, that he ought to take advantage of his colleague's illneſs, to ſecure the whole honour of the victory to himſelf. As he had no regard, ſays Polybius, to the time proper for action, and only to that which he thought ſuited his own intereſt, he could not fail of taking wrong meaſures. He therefore ordered his army to prepare for battle.

This was the very thing Hannibal deſired, holding it for a maxim, That when a general has entered a foreign country, or one poſſeſſed by the enemy, and has formed ſome great deſign, that ſuch an one has no other refuge left but continually to raiſe the expectations of his allies by ſome freſh exploits. Beſides, knowing that he ſhould have to deal only with new-levied and unexperienced troops, he was deſirous of taking all the advantages poſſible of the ardour of the Gauls, who were extremely deſirous of fighting; and of Scipio's abſence, who, by reaſon of his wound, could not be preſent in the battle. Mago was therefore ordered to lie in ambuſh with 2000 men, conſiſting of horſe and foot, on the ſteep banks of a ſmall rivulet, which ran between the two camps; and to conceal himſelf among the buſhes that were very thick there. An ambuſcade is often ſafer in a ſmooth, open country, but full of thickets, as this was, than in woods, becauſe ſuch a ſpot is leſs apt to be ſuſpected. He afterwards cauſed a detachment of Numidian cavalry to croſs the Trebia, with orders to advance at break of day as far as the very barriers of the enemy's camp, in order to provoke them to fight; and then to retreat and repaſs the river,

river, in order to draw the Romans after them. What he had foreſeen, came directly to paſs. The fiery Sempronius immediately detached his whole cavalry againſt the Numidians, and then 6000 light-armed troops, who were ſoon followed by all the reſt of the army. The Numidians fled deſignedly; upon which the Romans purſued them with great eagerneſs, and croſſed the Trebia without reſiſtance, but not without great difficulty, being forced to wade up to their very arm-pits through the rivulet, which was ſwoln with the torrents that had fallen in the night from the neighbouring mountains. It was then about the winter-ſolſtice, that is, in December. It happened to ſnow that day, and the cold was exceſſively piercing. The Romans had left their camp faſting, and without taking the leaſt precaution; whereas the Carthaginians had, by Hannibal's order, eat and drank plentifully in their tents; had got their horſes in readineſs, rubbed themſelves with oil, and put on their armour by the fire-ſide.

They were thus prepared when the fight began. The Romans defended themſelves valiantly for a conſiderable time, though they were half ſpent with hunger, fatigue, and cold; but their cavalry was at laſt broke and put to flight by the Carthaginians, which much exceeded theirs in numbers and ſtrength. The infantry were ſoon in great diſorder alſo. The ſoldiers in ambuſcade ſallying out at a proper time, ruſhed on a ſudden upon their rear, and completed the overthrow. A body of above 10,000 men fought reſolutely their way through the Gauls and Africans, of whom they made a dreadful ſlaughter; but as they could neither aſſiſt their friends nor return to the camp, the way to it being cut off by the Numidian horſe, the river, and the rain, they retreated in good order to Placentia. Moſt of the reſt loſt their lives on the banks of the river, being trampled to pieces by the elephants and horſes. Thoſe who eſcaped went and joined the body abovementioned. The next night Scipio retired alſo to Placentia. The Carthaginians gained a complete victory, and their loſs was inconſiderable, except that a great number of their horſes were deſtroyed by the cold, the rain, and the ſnow; and that, of all their elephants, they ſaved but one only.

* In Spain, the Romans had better ſucceſs, in this and the following campaign; for Cn. Scipio extended his conqueſts as far as the river Iberus†, defeated Hanno, and took him priſoner.

* Polyb. l. iii. p. 228, 229. Liv. l. xxi. n. 60, 61. † Or Ebro.

*Hannibal took the opportunity, whilſt he was in winter-quarters, to refreſh his troops, and gain the affection of the natives. For this purpoſe, after having declared to the priſoners he had taken from the Roman allies, that he was not come with the view of making war upon them, but to reſtore the Italians to their liberty, and protect them againſt the Romans, he ſent them all home to their own countries, without requiring the leaſt ranſom.

†The winter was no ſooner over, than he ſet out towards Tuſcany, whither he haſtened his march for two important reaſons. Firſt, to avoid the ill effects which would ariſe from the ill-will of the Gauls, who were tired with the long ſtay of the Carthaginian army in their territories, and impatient of bearing the whole burden of a war, in which they had engaged with no other view, but to carry it into the country of their common enemy. Secondly, that he might increaſe, by ſome bold exploit, the reputation of his arms, in the minds of all the inhabitants of Italy, by carrying the war to the very gates of Rome; and at the ſame time, to animate afreſh his troops, and the Gauls his allies, by the plunder of the enemy's lands. But in his march over the Appenines, he was overtaken with a dreadful ſtorm, which deſtroyed great numbers of his men. The cold, the rain, the wind and hail, ſeemed to conſpire his ruin; ſo that the fatigues which the Carthaginians had undergone in croſſing the Alps, ſeemed leſs dreadful than thoſe they now ſuffered. He therefore marched back to Placentia, where he again fought Sempronius, who was returned from Rome. The loſs on both ſides was very near equal.

‡Whilſt Hannibal was in theſe winter-quarters, he hit upon a true Carthaginian ſtratagem. He was ſurrounded with fickle and inconſtant nations: the friendſhip he had contracted with them was but of freſh date. He had reaſon to apprehend a change in their diſpoſition, and conſequently that attempts would be made upon his life. To ſecure himſelf, therefore, he got perukes made, and clothes ſuited to every age. Of theſe he ſometimes wore one, ſometimes another; and diſguiſed himſelf ſo often, that not only ſuch as ſaw him tranſiently, but even his intimate acquaintance, could ſcarce know him.

§At Rome, Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius had been appointed conſuls. Hannibal having advice that the latter was

* Polyb. p. 229. † Lix. l. xxi. n. 58.
‡ Polyb. l. xxi. Liv. l. xxii. n. 1. Appian. in bell. Annib. p. 316.
§ Polyb. p. 230, 231.; Liv. l. xxii. n. 2. A. M. 3788. Rome 532.

advanced

advanced already as far as Arretium, a town of Tuſcany, reſolved to go and engage him as ſoon as poſſible. Two ways being ſhown him, he choſe the ſhorteſt, though the moſt troubleſome, nay, almoſt impaſſable, by reaſon of a fen which he was forced to go through. Here the army ſuffered incredible hardſhips. During four days and three nights, they marched half way up the leg in water, and conſequently could not get a moment's ſleep. Hannibal himſelf, who rode upon the only elephant he had left, could hardly get through. His long want of ſleep, and the thick vapours which exhaled from that marſhy place, together with the unhealthfulneſs of the ſeaſon, coſt him one of his eyes.

BATTLE OF THRASYMENE.

* Hannibal being thus got, almoſt unexpectedly, out of this dangerous place, refreſhed his troops, and then marched and pitched his camp between Arretium and Feſulæ, in the richeſt and moſt fruitful part of Tuſcany. His firſt endeavours were, to diſcover the genius and character of Flaminius, in order that he might take advantage of his foible, which, according to Polybius, ought to be the chief ſtudy of a general. He was told, that Flaminius was greatly conceited of his own merit, bold, enterpriſing, raſh, and fond of glory. To plunge him the deeper into theſe exceſſes, to which he was naturally prone†, he enflamed his impetuous ſpirit, by laying waſte and burning the whole country, in his ſight.

Flaminius was not of a temper to continue inactive in his camp, though Hannibal ſhould have lain ſtill. But when he ſaw the territories of his allies laid waſte before his eyes, he thought it would reflect diſhonour upon him, ſhould he ſuffer Hannibal to ranſack Italy without controul, and even advance to the very walls of Rome, without meeting any reſiſtance.

He rejected with ſcorn the prudent counſels of thoſe who adviſed him to wait the arrival of his colleague, and to be ſatisfied for the preſent with putting a ſtop to the devaſtation of the enemy.

In the mean time, Hannibal was ſtill advancing towards Rome, having Cortona on the left hand, and the lake Thraſymenè on his right. When he ſaw that the conſul followed cloſe after him, with the deſign to give him battle, by ſtopping him in his march; having obſerved that the ground was con-

* Polyb. l. iii. p. 231—238.

† Apparebat ferociter omnia ac præpropere acturum. Quoque pronior eſſet in ſua vitia, agitare eum atque irritare Pœnus parat. Liv. l. xxii. n. 3.

venient

venient for that purpoſe, he alſo began to prepare himſelf for the battle. The lake Thraſymenè and the mountains of Cortona form a very narrow defile, which leads into a large valley, lined, on both ſides, with hills of a conſiderable height, and cloſed, at the outlet, by a ſteep hill of difficult acceſs. On this hill, Hannibal, after having croſſed the valley, came and encamped with the main body of his army; poſting his light-armed infantry in ambuſcade upon the hills on the right, and part of his cavalry behind thoſe on the left, as far almoſt as the entrance of the defile, through which Flaminius was obliged to paſs. Accordingly this general, who followed him very eagerly, with the reſolution to fight him, being come to the defile near the lake, was forced to halt, becauſe night was coming on; but he entered it the next morning at day-break.

Hannibal having permitted him to advance, with all his forces, above half way through the valley, and ſeeing the Roman van-guard pretty near him, he ſounded the charge, and commanded the troops to come out of their ambuſcade, in order that he might attack the enemy, at the ſame time, from all quarters. The reader may gueſs at the conſternation with which the Romans were ſeized.

They were not yet drawn up in order of battle, neither had they got their arms in readineſs, when they found themſelves attacked, in front, in rear, and in flank. In a moment all the ranks were put into diſorder. Flaminius, alone undaunted in ſo univerſal a ſurprize, animates his ſoldiers both with his hand and voice; and exhorts them to cut themſelves a paſſage with their ſwords through the midſt of the enemy. But the tumult which reigned every where, the dreadful ſhouts of the enemy, and a fog that was riſen, prevented his being ſeen or heard. However, when the Romans ſaw themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides, either by the enemy or the lake, and the impoſſibility of ſaving their lives by flight, it rouſed their courage, and both parties began the fight with aſtoniſhing animoſity. Their fury was ſo great, that not a ſoldier in either army perceived an earthquake which happened in that country, and buried whole cities in ruins. In this confuſion, Flaminius being ſlain by one of the Inſubrian Gauls, the Romans began to give ground, and at laſt quite ran away. Great numbers, to ſave themſelves, leaped into the lake, whilſt others, climbing over the mountains, fell into the enemy's hands whom they ſtrove to avoid. Six thouſand only cut their way through the conquerors, and retreated to a place of ſafety; but the next day they were taken priſoners. In this battle 15,000 Romans

were

were killed, and about 10,000 escaped to Rome, by different roads. Hannibal sent back the Latins, who were allies of the Romans, into their own country, without demanding the least ransom. He commanded search to be made for the body of Flaminius, in order to give it burial, but it could not be found. He afterwards put his troops into quarters of refreshment, and solemnized the funerals of 30 of his chief officers, who were killed in the battle. He lost in all but 1500 men, most of whom were Gauls.

Immediately after, Hannibal dispatched a courier to Carthage, with the news of his good success in Italy. This caused the greatest joy for the present, raised the most promising hopes with regard to the future, and revived the courage of all the citizens. They now prepared with incredible ardour, to send into Italy and Spain all necessary succours.

Rome, on the contrary, was filled with universal grief and alarm, as soon as the prætor had pronounced from the rostra the following words, "We have lost a great battle." The senate, studious of nothing but the public welfare, thought that in so great a calamity and so imminent a danger, recourse must be had to extraordinary remedies. They therefore appointed Quintus Fabius dictator, a person as conspicuous for his wisdom as his birth. It was the custom at Rome, that the moment a dictator was nominated, all authority ceased, that of the tribunes of the people excepted. M. Minucius was appointed his general of horse. We are now in the second year of the war.

HANNIBAL'S CONDUCT WITH RESPECT TO FABIUS.

* Hannibal, after the battle of Thrasymenè, not thinking it yet proper to march directly to Rome, contented himself, in the mean time, with laying waste the country. He crossed Umbria and Picenum; and, after ten days march, arrived in the territory of Adria †. He got a very considerable booty in this march. Out of his implacable enmity to the Romans, he commanded, that all who were able to bear arms should be put to the sword; and meeting no obstacle any where, he advanced as far as Apulia; plundering the countries which lay in his way, and carrying desolation wherever he came, in order to compel the nations to disengage themselves from their alliance with the Romans; and to show all Italy, that Rome itself, now quite dispirited, yielded him the victory.

* Polyb. l. xxiii. p. 239—255. Liv. l. xxii. n. 9—30.

† A small town, which gave name to the Adriatic sea.

Fabius

Fabius, followed by Minucius and four legions, had marched from Rome in queſt of the enemy, but with a firm reſolution not to let him take the leaſt advantage, nor to advance one ſtep till he had firſt reconnoitred every place; nor hazard a battle till he ſhould be ſure of ſucceſs.

As ſoon as both armies were in ſight, Hannibal, to terrify the Roman forces, offered them battle, by advancing very near the intrenchments of their camp. But finding every thing quiet there, he retired; blaming, in appearance, the outward cowardice of the enemy, whom he upbraided with having at laſt loſt that valour ſo natural to their anceſtors; but fretted inwardly, to find he had to do with a general of ſo different a genius from Sempronius and Flaminius; and that the Romans, inſtructed by their defeat, had at laſt made choice of a commander capable of oppoſing Hannibal.

From this moment he perceived that the dictator would not be formidable to him by the boldneſs of his attacks, but by the prudence and regularity of his conduct, which might perplex and embarraſs him very much. The only circumſtance he now wanted to know was, whether the new general had reſolution enough to purſue ſteadily the plan he ſeemed to have laid down. He endeavoured therefore to rouſe him, by his frequent removals from place to place, by laying waſte the lands, plundering the cities, and burning the villages and towns. He, at one time, would raiſe his camp with the utmoſt precipitation; and at another, ſtop ſhort in ſome valley out of the common rout, to try whether he could not ſurpriſe him in the plain. However, Fabius ſtill kept his troops on hills, but without loſing ſight of Hannibal; never approaching near enough to come to an engagement; nor yet keeping at ſuch a diſtance, as might give him an opportunity of eſcaping him. He never ſuffered his ſoldiers to ſtir out of the camp, except to forage, and on thoſe occaſions, not without a numerous convoy. If ever he engaged, it was only in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, and ſo very cautiouſly that his troops had always the advantage. By this conduct he revived, by inſenſible degrees, the courage of the ſoldiers, which the loſs of three battles had entirely damped; and enabled them to rely, as they had formerly done, on their valour and good ſucceſs.

Hannibal, having got immenſely rich ſpoils in Campania, where he had reſided a conſiderable time, left it, with his army, in order that he might not conſume the proviſions he had laid up, and which he reſerved for the winter ſeaſon. Beſides, he could no longer continue in a country of gardens and vine-

yards,

yards, which were more agreeable to the eye, than useful for the subsistence of an army; a country where he would have been forced to take up his winter-quarters among marshes, rocks, and sands; during which the Romans would have drawn plentiful supplies from Capua, and the richest parts of Italy. He therefore resolved to settle elsewhere.

Fabius naturally supposed, that Hannibal would be obliged to return the same way he came, and that he might easily annoy him during his march. He began by throwing a considerable body of troops into, and thereby securing, Casilinum, a small town situated on the Vulturnus, which separated the territories of Falernum from those of Capua: he afterwards detached 400 men, to go and seize the only narrow pass through which Hannibal could come out; and then, according to his usual custom, posts himself with the remainder of the army on the hills adjoining to the road.

The Carthaginians arrive, and encamp in the plain at the foot of the mountains. And now the crafty Carthaginian falls into the same snare he had laid for Flaminius at the defile of Thrasymené; and it seemed impossible for him ever to extricate himself out of this difficulty, there being but one outlet, of which the Romans were possessed. Fabius, fancying himself sure of his prey, was only contriving how to seize it. He flattered himself with the probable hopes of putting an end to the war by this single battle. Nevertheless, he thought fit to defer the attack till the next day.

Hannibal perceived, that * his own artifices were now employed against him. It is in such junctures as these, that a general has need of great presence of mind, and unusual fortitude, to view danger in its utmost extent, without being struck with the least dread; and to find out sure and instant expedients without deliberating. Immediately the Carthaginian general caused 2000 oxen to be got together, and ordered small bundles of vine-branches to be tied to their horns. He then commanded the branches to be set on fire in the dead of night, and the oxen to be driven with violence to the top of the hills where the Romans were encamped. As soon as those creatures felt the flame, the pain putting them in a rage, they flew up and down on all sides, and set fire to the shrubs and bushes they met in their way. This squadron, of a new kind, was sustained by a good number of light-armed soldiers, who had orders to seize upon the summit of the mountain, and to

* Nec Annibalem fefellit suis se artibus peti. Liv.

charge

charge the enemy in caſe they ſhould meet them. All things happened which Hannibal had foreſeen. The Romans, who guarded the defile, ſeeing the fires ſpread over the hills which were above them, and imagining that it was Hannibal making his eſcape by torch-light, quit their poſt, and run up to the mountains to oppoſe his paſſage. The main body of the army not knowing what to think of all this tumult, and Fabius himſelf not daring to ſtir, as it was exceſſively dark, for fear of a ſurpriſe, waits for the return of the day. Hannibal ſeizes this opportunity, marches his troops and the ſpoils through the defile which was now unguarded, and reſcues his army out of a ſnare in which, had Fabius been but a little more vigorous, it would either have been deſtroyed, or at leaſt very much weakened. It is glorious for a man to turn his very errors to his advantage, and make them ſubſervient to his reputation.

The Carthaginian army returned to Apulia, ſtill purſued and haraſſed by the Romans. The dictator, being obliged to take a journey to Rome on account of ſome religious ceremonies, earneſtly entreated his general of horſe, before his departure, not to fight during his abſence. However, Minucius did not regard either his advice or his intreaties; but the very firſt opportunity he had, whilſt part of Hannibal's troops were foraging, he charged the reſt, and gained ſome advantage. He immediately ſent advice of this to Rome, as if he had obtained a conſiderable victory. The news of this, with what had juſt before happened at the paſſage of the defile, raiſed complaints and murmurs againſt the ſlow and timorous circumſpection of Fabius. In a word, matters were carried ſo far, that the Roman people gave his general of horſe an equal authority with him; a thing unheard of before. The dictator was upon the road when he received advice of this: for he had left Rome, in order that he might not be an eye-witneſs of what was contriving againſt him. His conſtancy, however, was not ſhaken. He was very ſenſible, that though his authority in the command was divided, yet his ſkill in the art of war was not ſo*. This ſoon became manifeſt.

Minucius, grown arrogant at the advantage he had gained over his colleague, propoſed that each ſhould command a day, alternately, or even a longer time: but Fabius rejected this propoſal, as it would have expoſed the whole army to danger, whilſt under the command of Minucius. He therefore choſe

* Satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi æquatam. Liv. l. xxii. n. 26.

to

to divide the troops, in order that it might be in his power to preserve, at least, that part which should fall to his share.

Hannibal, fully informed of all that passed in the Roman camp, was overjoyed to hear of this dissension of the two commanders. He therefore laid a snare for the rash Minucius, who accordingly plunged headlong into it, and engaged the enemy on an eminence, in which an ambuscade was concealed. But his troops being soon put into disorder, were just upon the point of being cut to pieces, when Fabius, alarmed by the sudden outcries of the wounded, called aloud to his soldiers: "Let us hasten to the assistance of Minucius: let us fly and "snatch the victory from the enemy, and extort from our "fellow-citizens a confession of their fault." This succour was very seasonable, and compelled Hannibal to sound a retreat. The latter, as he was retiring, said, "That the cloud "which had been long hovering on the summit of the moun-"tains, had at last burst with a loud crack, and caused a mighty "storm." So important and seasonable a service done by the dictator, opened the eyes of Minucius. He accordingly acknowledged his error, returned immediately to his duty and obedience, and showed, that it is sometimes more glorious to know how to atone for a fault, than not to have committed it.

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SPAIN.

*In the beginning of this campaign, Cn. Scipio, having suddently attacked the Carthaginian fleet, commanded by Hamilcar, defeated it, and took 25 ships, with a great quantity of rich spoils. This victory made the Romans sensible, that they ought to be particularly attentive to the affairs of Spain, because Hannibal could draw considerable supplies both of men and money from that country. Accordingly they sent a fleet thither, the command whereof was given to P. Scipio, who, after his arrival in Spain, having joined his brother, did the commonwealth very great service. Till that time the Romans had never ventured beyond the Ebro. They then were satisfied with their having gained the friendship of the nations situated between that river and Italy, and confirming it by alliances: but, under Publius, they crossed the Ebro, and carried their arms much farther up into the country.

The circumstance which contributed most to promote their affairs, was the treachery of a Spaniard in Saguntum. Hannibal had left there the children of the most distinguished fami-

* Polyb. l. iii. p. 245—230. Liv. l. xxii. n. 19—22.

lies in Spain, whom he had taken as hoſtages. Abelox (for ſo this Spaniard was called) perſuaded Boſtar, the governor of the city, to ſend back theſe young men into their country, in order, by that means, to attach the inhabitants more firmly to the Carthaginian intereſt. He himſelf was charged with this commiſſion. But he carried them to the Romans, who afterwards delivered them to their relations, and, by ſo acceptable a preſent, acquired their amity.

THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ.

*The next ſpring, C. Terentius Varro and L. Æmilius Paulus were choſen conſuls at Rome. In this campaign, which was the third of the ſecond Punic war, the Romans did what had never been practiſed before, viz. to compoſe the army of eight legions, each conſiſting of 5000 men, excluſive of the allies: for, as we have already obſerved, the Romans never raiſed but four legions, each of which conſiſted of about 4000 foot, and 300 horſe†. They never, except on the moſt important occaſions, made them conſiſt of 5000 of the one, and 400 of the other. As for the troops of the allies, their infantry was equal to that of the legions, but they had three times as many horſe. Each of the conſuls had commonly half the troops of the allies, with two legions, in order for them to act ſeparately; and all theſe forces were very ſeldom uſed at the ſame time, and in the ſame expedition. Here the Romans had not only four, but eight legions, ſo important did the affair appear to them. The ſenate even thought fit, that the two conſuls of the foregoing year, Servilius and Attilius, ſhould ſerve in the army as proconſuls; but the latter could not go into the field, by reaſon of his great age.

Varro, at his ſetting out from Rome, had declared openly, that he would fall upon the enemy the very firſt opportunity, and put an end to the war; adding, that it would never be terminated ſo long as men of the character of Fabius ſhould be at the head of the Roman armies. An advantage which he gained over the Carthaginians, of whom near 1700 were killed, greatly increaſed his boldneſs and arrogance. As for Hannibal, he conſidered this loſs as a real advantage; being perſuaded that it would ſerve as a bait to the conſul's raſhneſs, and prompt him on to a battle, which he wanted extremely.

* A. M. 3789. A. Rom. 533. Polyb. l. iii. p. 255—268. Liv. l. xxii. n. 34—54.

† Polybius ſuppoſes only 200 horſe in each legion: but J. Lipſius thinks that this is a miſtake either of the author or tranſcriber.

It

It was afterwards known, that Hannibal was reduced to such a scarcity of provisions, that he could not possibly have subsisted ten days longer. The Spaniards were already meditating to leave him. So that there would have been an end of Hannibal and his army, if his good fortune had not thrown a Varro in his way.

Both armies having often removed from place to place, came in sight of each other near Cannæ, a little town in Apulia, situated on the river Aufidus. As Hannibal was encamped in a level open country, and his cavalry much superior to that of the Romans, Æmilius did not think proper to engage in such a place. He was for drawing the enemy into an irregular spot, where the infantry might have the greatest share in the action: but his colleague, who was wholly unexperienced, was of a contrary opinion. Such is the inconveniency of a divided command; jealousy, a disparity of tempers, or a diversity of views, seldom failing to create a dissension between the two generals.

The troops on each side were, for some time, contented with slight skirmishes: but at last, one day when Varro had the command (for the two consuls took it by turns), preparations were made on both sides for battle. Æmilius had not been consulted; yet, though he extremely disapproved the conduct of his colleague, as it was not in his power to prevent it, he seconded him to the utmost.

Hannibal, after having made his soldiers observe, that, being superior in cavalry, they could not possibly have pitched upon a better spot for fighting, had it been left to their choice:— "Return then," says he, "thanks to the gods, for having "brought the enemy hither, that you may triumph over them; "and thank me also, for having reduced the Romans to a ne"cessity of coming to an engagement. After three great "victories, won successively, is not the remembrance of your "own actions sufficient to inspire you with courage? By the "former battles, you are become masters of the open country; "but this will put you in possession of all the cities, and I pre"sume to say it, of all the riches and power of the Romans. "It is not words that we want, but action. I trust in the "gods, that you shall soon see my promises verified."

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Romans, including the allies, amounted to 80,000 foot, and a little above 6000 horse; and that of the Carthaginians consisted but of 40,000 foot, all well disciplined, and of 10,000 horse. Æmilius commanded the right wing of the Romans,

Varro the left, and Servilius, one of the conſuls of the laſt year, was poſted in the centre. Hannibal, who had the art of taking all advantages, had poſted himſelf, ſo as the wind Vulturnus* (which riſes at certain ſtated times) ſhould blow directly in the faces of the Romans during the fight, and cover them with duſt; then keeping the river Aufidus on his left, and poſting his cavalry on the wings, he formed his main body of the Spaniſh and Gallic infantry, which he poſted in the centre, with half the African heavy-armed foot on their right, and half on their left, on the ſame line with the cavalry. His army being thus drawn up, he put himſelf at the head of the Spaniſh and Gallic infantry; and having drawn them out of the line, advanced to begin the battle, rounding his front as he advanced nearer the enemy; and extending his flanks in the ſhape of a half-moon, in order that he might leave no interval between his main body and the reſt of the line, which conſiſted of the heavy-armed infantry, who had not moved from their poſts.

The fight ſoon began, and the Roman legions that were in the wings, ſeeing their centre warmly attacked, advanced to charge the enemy in flank. Hannibal's main body, after a brave reſiſtance, finding themſelves furiouſly attacked on all ſides, gave way, being overpowered by numbers, and retired through the interval they had left in the centre of the line. The Romans having purſued them thither with eager confuſion, the two wings of the African infantry, which was freſh, well armed, and in good order, wheeled about on a ſudden towards that void ſpace in which the Romans, who were already fatigued, had thrown themſelves in diſorder; and attacked them vigorouſly on both ſides, without allowing them time to recover themſelves, or leaving them ground to draw up. In the mean time, the two wings of the cavalry, having defeated thoſe of the Romans, which were much inferior to them, and in order to purſue the broken and ſcattered ſquadrons, having left only as many forces as were neceſſary to keep them from rallying, advanced and charged the rear of the Roman infantry, which, being ſurrounded at once on every ſide by the enemy's horſe and foot, was all cut to pieces, after having fought with unparallelled bravery. Æmilius, being covered with wounds he had received in the fight, was afterwards killed by a body of

* A violent burning wind, blowing ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, which, in this flat and ſandy country, raiſed clouds of hot duſt, and blinded and choked the Romans.

the

the enemy to whom he was not known; and with him two quæstors, 21 military tribunes, many who had been either consuls or prætors, Servilius, one of the last year's consuls, Minucius, the late general of the horse to Fabius, and 80 senators. Above 70,000 men fell in this battle*; and the Carthaginians, so great was their fury †, did not give over the slaughter, till Hannibal, in the very heat of it, called out to them several times; "Stop, soldiers; spare the vanquished." Ten thousand men, who had been left to guard the camp, surrendered themselves prisoners of war after the battle. Varro the consul retired to Venusia, with only 70 horse, and about 4000 men escaped into the neighbouring cities. Thus Hannibal remained master of the field, he being chiefly indebted for this, as well as for his former victories, to the superiority of his cavalry over that of the Romans. He lost 4000 Gauls, 1500 Spaniards and Africans, and 200 horse.

Maharbal, one of the Carthaginian generals, advised Hannibal to march directly to Rome, promising him, that within five days they should sup in the capitol. Hannibal answering, that it was an affair which required mature examination; "I see," replies Maharbal, "that the gods have not endowed "the same man with all talents. You, Hannibal, know how "to conquer, but not to make the best use of a victory ‡."

It is pretended that this delay saved Rome and the empire. Many authors, and among the rest Livy, charge Hannibal, on this occasion, as guilty of a capital error. But others, more reserved, are not for condemning, without evident proofs, so renowned a general, who, in the rest of his conduct, was never wanting, either in prudence to make his choice of the best expedients, or in readiness to put his designs in execution. They, besides, are inclined to judge favourably of him, from the authority, or at least the silence of Polybius, who, speaking of the memorable consequences of this celebrated battle, says, That the Carthaginians were firmly persuaded, that they should possess themselves of Rome at the first assault: But then he does not mention how this could possibly have been effected, as that city was very populous, warlike, strongly fortified, and defended with a garrison of two legions; nor does he any where

* Livy lessens very much the number of the slain, making them amount but to about 43,000. But Polybius ought rather to be believed.

† Duo maximi exercitus cæsi ad hostium satietatem, donec Annibal diceret militi suo: Parce ferro. Flor. l. i. c. 6.

‡ Tum Maharbal: Non omnia nimirum eidem Dii dedere. Vincere scis, Annibal, victoria uti nescis. Liv. l. xxii. n. 51.

give the leaſt hint that ſuch a project was feaſible, or that Hannibal did wrong in not attempting to put it in execution.

And indeed, if we examine matters more narrowly, we ſhall find, that, according to the common maxims of war, it could not be undertaken. It is certain, that Hannibal's whole infantry, before the battle, amounted but to 40,000 men; and as 6000 of theſe had been ſlain in the action, and, doubtleſs, many more either wounded or diſabled, there could remain but 26 or 27,000 foot fit for ſervice. Now this number was not ſufficient to inveſt ſo large a city as Rome, which had a river running through it, nor to attack it in form, becauſe they had neither engines, ammunition, nor any other things neceſſary for carrying on a ſiege*: for want of theſe, Hannibal, even after his victory at Thraſymenè, miſcarried in his attempt upon Spoletum; and ſoon after the battle of Cannæ, was forced to raiſe the ſiege of a little nameleſs city †. It cannot be denied, but that, had he miſcarried on the preſent occaſion, nothing leſs could have been expected, but that he muſt have been irrecoverably loſt. However, to form a juſt judgment of this matter, a man ought to be a ſoldier, and ſhould, perhaps, have been upon the ſpot. This is an old diſpute, on which none but thoſe who are perfectly well ſkilled in the art of war, ſhould pretend to give their opinion.

‡ Soon after the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal diſpatched his brother Mago to Carthage, with the news of his victory; and at the ſame time to demand ſuccours, in order that he might be enabled to put an end to the war. Mago being arrived, made, in full ſenate, a lofty ſpeech, in which he extolled his brother's exploits, and diſplayed the great advantages he had gained over the Romans: and, to give a more lively idea of the greatneſs of the victory, by ſpeaking in ſome meaſure to the eye, he poured out in the middle of the ſenate, a buſhel § of gold rings, which had been taken from the fingers of ſuch of the Roman nobility as had fallen in the battle of Cannæ. He concluded with demanding money, proviſions, and freſh troops. All the ſpectators were ſtruck with an extraordinary joy; upon which Imilcon, a great ſtickler for Hannibal, fancying he now had a fair opportunity to inſult Hanno, the chief of the contrary

* Liv. l. xxi. n. 9. Ibid. l. xxiii. n. 18. † Caſilinum.

‡ Liv. l. xxiii. n. 11—14.

§ Pliny l. xxxiii. c. 1. ſays, that there were three buſhels ſent to Carthage. Livy obſerves, that ſome authors make them amount to three buſhels and a half; but he thinks it moſt probable, that there was but one, l. xxxiii. n. 12. Florus, l. ii. c. 16. makes it two buſhels.

faction,

faction, asked him whether he was still dissatisfied with the war they were carrying on against the Romans, and was for having Hannibal delivered up to them? Hanno, without discovering the least emotion, replied, that he was still of the same mind; and that the victories they so much boasted, supposing them real, could not give him joy, but only in proportion as they should be made subservient to an advantageous peace: he then undertook to prove, that the mighty exploits, on which they insisted so much, were wholly chimerical and imaginary. "I "have cut to pieces," says he, continuing Mago's speech, "the Roman armies:—Send me some troops.—What more "could you ask, had you been conquered? I have twice "seized upon the enemy's camp, full (no doubt) of provisions "of every kind.—Send me provisions and money.—Could you "have talked otherwise had you lost your camp?" He then asked Mago, whether any of the Latin nations were come over to Hannibal, and whether the Romans had made him any proposals of peace? To this Mago answering in the negative: "I then perceive," replied Hanno, "that we are no farther "advanced, than when Hannibal first landed in Italy." The inference he drew from hence was, that neither men nor money ought to be sent. But Hannibal's faction prevailing at that time, no regard was paid to Hanno's remonstrances, which were considered merely as the effect of prejudice and jealousy; and accordingly, orders were given for levying the supplies of men and money which Hannibal required. Mago set out immediately for Spain, to raise 24,000 foot, and 4000 horse in that country; but these levies were afterwards stopped, and sent another way; so eager was the contrary faction to oppose the designs of a general whom they utterly abhorred. * Whereas, in Rome, a consul, who had fled, was thanked because he had not despaired of the commonwealth; at Carthage, people were almost angry with Hannibal for being victorious. But Hanno could never forgive him the advantages he had gained in this war, because he had undertaken it in opposition to his counsel. Thus being more jealous for the honour of his own opinions than for the good of his country, and a greater enemy to the Carthaginian general than to the Romans, he did all that lay in his power to prevent future, and to ruin past successes.

HANNIBAL TAKES UP HIS WINTER-QUARTERS IN CAPUA.

† The battle of Cannæ subjected the most powerful nations

* De St. Evrem. † Liv. l. xxiii. n. 4—18.

of

of Italy to Hannibal, drew over to his intereſt Græcia Magna*, with the city of Tarentum; and ſo wreſted, from the Romans, their moſt ancient allies, among whom the Capuans held the firſt rank. This city, by the fertility of its ſoil, its advantageous ſituation, and the bleſſings of a long peace, had roſe to great wealth and power. Luxury, and a flow of pleaſures, the uſual attendants on wealth, had corrupted the minds of all its citizens, who, from their natural inclination, were but too much inclined to voluptuouſneſs and all exceſſes.

Hannibal † made choice of this city for his winter-quarters. Here it was that his ſoldiers, who had ſuſtained the moſt grievous toils, and braved the moſt formidable dangers, were overthrown by delights and a profuſion of all things, into which they plunged with the greater eagerneſs, as they, till then, had been ſtrangers to them. Their courage was ſo greatly enervated in this bewitching retirement, that all their after-efforts were owing rather to the fame and ſplendor of their former victories, than to their preſent ſtrength. When Hannibal marched his forces out of the city, one would have taken them for other men, and the reverſe of thoſe who had ſo lately marched into it. Accuſtomed, during the winter-ſeaſon, to commodious lodgings, to eaſe and plenty, they were no longer able to bear hunger, thirſt, long marches, watchings, and the other toils of war; not to mention that all obedience, all diſcipline, were entirely laid aſide.

I only tranſcribe on this occaſion from Livy, who, if he may be credited, thinks Hannibal's ſtay at Capua a reproach to his conduct, and pretends, that he there was guilty of an infinitely greater error, than when he neglected to march directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ: for this delay ‡, ſays Livy, might ſeem only to have retarded his victory; whereas this laſt miſconduct rendered him abſolutely incapable of ever defeating the enemy. In a word, Marcellus obſerved judiciouſly,

* Cæterum quum Græci omnem ferè oram maritimam Coloniis ſuis, e Græcia deductis, obſiderent, &c. But after the Greeks had, by their colonies, poſſeſſed themſelves of all the maritime coaſt, this very country, together with Sicily, was called Græcia Magna, &c. Cluver. Geograph. l. iii. c. 30.

† Ibi partem majorem hiemis exercitum in tectis habuit; adverſus omnia humana mala ſæpe ac diu durantem, bonis inexpertum atque inſuetum. Itaque quos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates immodicæ, et eo impenſius, quo avidius ex inſolentia in eas ſe merſerant. Liv. l. xxiii. n. 18.

‡ Illa enim cunctatio diſtuliſſe modo victoriam videri potuit, hic error vires ademiſſe ad vincendum. Liv. l. xxiii. n. 18.

judiciouſly afterwards, Capua was to the Carthaginians and their general, what * Cannæ had been to the Romans. There their martial genius, their love of diſcipline were loſt: there their former fame, and their almoſt certain hopes of future glory, vaniſhed at once. And indeed, from thenceforth the affairs of Hannibal advanced to their decline by ſwift ſteps; fortune declared in favour of prudence, and victory ſeemed now reconciled to the Romans.

I know not whether Livy has reaſon to impute all theſe fatal conſequences to the delicious abode of Capua. If we examine carefully all the circumſtances of this hiſtory, we ſhall ſcarce be able to perſuade ourſelves, that the little progreſs which was afterwards made by the arms of Hannibal ought to be aſcribed to Capua. It might, indeed, have been one cauſe, but this would be a very inconſiderable one: and the bravery with which the forces of Hannibal afterwards defeated the armies of conſuls and prætors; the towns they took even in ſight of the Romans; their maintaining their conqueſts ſo vigorouſly, and ſtaying 14 years after this in Italy, in ſpite of the Romans; all theſe circumſtances may induce us to believe, that Livy lays too great a ſtreſs on the delights of Capua.

The real cauſe of the decay of Hannibal's affairs, was owing to his want of neceſſary recruits and ſuccours from Carthage. † After Mago's ſpeech, the Carthaginian ſenate had judged it neceſſary, in order for the carrying on the conqueſts in Italy, to ſend thither a conſiderable reinforcement of Numidian horſe, 40 elephants, and 1000 talents; and to hire, in Spain, 20,000 foot, and 4000 horſe, to re-inforce their armies in Spain and Italy. ‡ Nevertheleſs, Mago could obtain an order but for 12,000 foot, and 2200 horſe: and even, when he was juſt going to march to Italy with an army, ſo much inferior to that which had been promiſed him, he was countermanded, and ſent to Spain. So that Hannibal, after theſe mighty promiſes, had neither infantry, cavalry, elephants, nor money ſent him; but was left to his ſhifts. His army was now reduced to 26,000 foot, and 9000 horſe. How could it be poſſible for him, with ſo inconſiderable an army, to ſeize, in an enemy's country, on all the advantageous poſts; to awe his new allies, to preſerve his old conqueſts, and form new ones; and to keep

* Capuam Annibali Cannas fuiſſe: ibi virtutem bellicam, ibi militarem diſciplinam, ibi præteriti temporis famam, ibi ſpem futuri extinctam. Liv l. xxiii. n. 45.

† Liv. l. xxiii. n. 13. ‡ Ibid. n. 32.

the

the field, with advantage, againſt two armies of the Romans which were recruited every year? This was the true cauſe of the declenſion of Hannibal's affairs, and of the ruin of thoſe of Carthage. Was the part where Polybius treated this ſubject extant, we doubtleſs ſhould find that he lays a greater ſtreſs on this cauſe, than on the luxurious delights of Capua.

THE TRANSACTIONS RELATING TO SPAIN AND SARDINIA.

*The two Scipio's continued in the command of Spain, and their arms were making a conſiderable progreſs there, when Aſdrubal, who alone ſeemed able to cope with them, received orders from Carthage, to march into Italy, to the relief of his brother. Before he left Spain, he writ to the ſenate, to convince them of the abſolute neceſſity of their ſending a general in his ſtead, who had abilities ſufficient for oppoſing the Romans. Imilcon was therefore ſent thither with an army; and Aſdrubal ſet out upon his march with his, in order to go and join his brother. The news of his departure was no ſooner known, but the greateſt part of Spain was ſubjected by the Scipio's. Theſe two generals, animated by ſuch ſignal ſucceſs, reſolved to prevent him, if poſſible, from leaving Spain. They conſidered the danger to which the Romans would be expoſed, if, being ſcarce able to reſiſt Hannibal only, they ſhould be attacked by the two brothers, at the head of two powerful armies. They therefore purſued Aſdrubal, and coming up with that general, forced him to fight, againſt his inclination. Aſdrubal was overcome; and, ſo far from being able to continue his march for Italy, he found that it would be impoſſible for him to continue with any ſafety in Spain.

The Carthaginians had no better ſucceſs in Sardinia. Deſigning to take advantage of ſome rebellions they had fomented in that country, they loſt 12,000 men in a battle fought againſt the Romans, who took a ſtill greater number of priſoners, among whom were Aſdrubal, ſurnamed Calvus, Hanno, and Mago†, who were diſtinguiſhed by their birth as well as military exploits.

THE ILL SUCCESS OF HANNIBAL.—SIEGES OF CAPUA AND ROME.

‡From Hannibal's abode in Capua, the Carthaginian affairs in Italy no longer ſupported their reputation. M. Marcellus,

* A. M. 3790. A. Rom. 534. Liv. l. xxiii. n. 26—30—32—40, 41.

† Not Hannibal's brother.

‡ A. M. 3791. A. Rom. 535. Liv. l. xxiii. n. 41—46. l. xxv. n. 22. l. xxvi. n. 5—16.

firſt

firſt as prætor, and afterwards as conſul, had contributed very much to this revolution. He haraſſed Hannibal's army on every occaſion, ſeized upon his quarters, forced him to raiſe ſieges, and even defeated him in ſeveral engagements; ſo that he was called the Sword of Rome, as Fabius had before been named its Buckler.

* But what moſt affected the Carthaginian general, was, to ſee Capua beſieged by the Romans. In order therefore to preſerve his reputation among the allies, by a vigorous ſupport of thoſe who held the chief rank as ſuch, he flew to the relief of that city, brought forward his forces, attacked the Romans, and fought ſeveral battles to oblige them to raiſe the ſiege. At laſt, ſeeing all his meaſures defeated, † he marched haſtily towards Rome, in order to make a powerful diverſion. He had ſome hopes, in caſe he could have an opportunity, in the firſt conſternation, to ſtorm ſome part of the city, of drawing the Roman generals with all their forces from the ſiege of Capua, to the relief of their capital; at leaſt he flattered himſelf, that if, for the ſake of continuing the ſiege, they ſhould divide their forces, their weakneſs might then offer an occaſion, either to the Capuans or himſelf, of engaging and defeating them. Rome was ſtruck, but not confounded. A propoſal being made by one of the ſenators, to recall all the armies to ſuccour Rome, Fabius declared, that ‡ it would be ſhameful in them to be terrified, and forced to change their meaſures upon every motion of Hannibal. They therefore contented themſelves with only recalling part of the army, and one of the generals, Q. Fulvius the proconſul, from the ſiege. Hannibal, after making ſome devaſtations, drew up his army in order of battle before the city, and the conſul did the ſame. Both ſides were preparing to ſignalize themſelves in a battle, of which Rome was to be the recompence, when a violent ſtorm obliged them to ſeparate. They were no ſooner returned to their reſpective camps, but the face of the heavens grew calm and ſerene. The ſame happened frequently afterwards; inſomuch that Hannibal, believing that there was ſomething ſupernatural in the event, ſaid, according to Livy, that ſometimes § his own will, and ſometimes fortune, would not ſuffer him to take Rome.

* A. M. 3793. A. Rom. 537. † A. M. 3794. A. Rom. 538.

‡ Flagitioſum eſſe terreri ac circumagi ad omnes Annibalis comminationes. Liv. l. xxvi. n. 8.

§ Audita vox Annibalis fertur, Potiundæ ſibi urbis Romæ, modo mentem non dari, modo fortunam. Liv. l. xxvi. n. 11.

But

But the circumſtance which moſt ſurpriſed and intimidated him, was the news, that whilſt he lay encamped at one of the gates at Rome, the Romans had ſent out recruits for the army in Spain at another gate; and, at the ſame time, diſpoſed of the ground whereon his camp was pitched, notwithſtanding which it had been ſold for its full value. So bare-faced a contempt ſtung Hannibal to the quick: he therefore, on the other ſide, expoſed to ſale the ſhops of the goldſmiths round the Forum. After this bravado he retired, and, in his march, plundered the rich temple of the goddeſs Feronia*.

Capua, thus left to itſelf, held out but very little longer. After that ſuch of its ſenators as had the chief hand in the revolt, and conſequently could not expect any quarter from the Romans, had put themſelves to a truly tragical death †, the city ſurrendered at diſcretion. The ſucceſs of the ſiege, which, by the happy conſequences wherewith it was attended, proved deciſive, and gave the Romans a viſible ſuperiority over the Carthaginians, diſplayed, at the ſame time, how formidable the power of the Romans was, ‡ when they undertook to puniſh their perfidious allies; and the feeble protection which Hannibal could afford his friends, at a time when they moſt wanted it.

THE DEFEAT AND DEATH OF THE TWO SCIPIO'S IN SPAIN.

§ The face of affairs was very much changed in Spain. The Carthaginians had three armies in that country; one commanded by Aſdrubal, the ſon of Giſgo; the ſecond by Aſdrubal, ſon of Hamilcar; and a third under Mago, who had joined the firſt Aſdrubal. The two Scipios, Cneius and Publius,

* Feronia was the goddeſs of groves, and there was one with a temple in it, dedicated to her, at the foot of the mountain Soracte. Strabo, ſpeaking of the grove where this goddeſs was worſhipped, ſays, that a ſacrifice was offered annually to her in it; and that her votaries, inſpired by this goddeſs, walked unhurt over burning coals. There are ſtill extant ſome medals of Auguſtus, in which this goddeſs is repreſented with a crown on her head.

† Vilius Virius, the chief of this conſpiracy, after having repreſented to the Capuan ſenate, the ſevere treatment which his country might expect from the Romans, prevailed with 27 ſenators to go with him to his houſe, where, after eating a plentiful dinner, and heating themſelves with wine, they all drank poiſon. Then, taking their laſt farewell, ſome withdrew to their own houſes, others ſtaid with Varius; and all expired before the gates were opened to the Romans. Liv. l. xxvi. n. 13, 14.

‡ Confeſſio expreſſa hoſti quanta vis in Romanis ad expetendas pœnas ab infidelibus ſociis, et quam nihil in Annibale auxilii ad receptos in fidem tuendos eſſet. Liv. l. xxvi. n. 16.

§ A. M. 3793. A. Rom. 537. Liv. l. xxv. n. 32—39.

were

were for dividing their forces, and attacking the enemy separately, which was the cause of their ruin. It accordingly was agreed that Cneus, with a small number of Romans, and 30,000 Celtiberians, should march against Asdrubal, the son of Hamilcar; whilst Publius, with the remainder of the forces, composed of Romans and the allies of Italy, should advance against the other two generals.

Publius was vanquished first. To the two leaders whom he had to oppose, Masinissa, elated with the victories he had lately gained over Syphax, joined himself; and was to be soon followed by Indibilis, a powerful Spanish prince. The armies came to an engagement. The Romans, being thus attacked on all sides at once, made a brave resistance as long as they had their general at their head; but the moment he fell, the few troops which had escaped the slaughter, secured themselves by flight.

The three victorious armies marched immediately in quest of Cneus, in order to put an end to the war by his defeat. He was already more than half vanquished, by the desertion of his allies, who all forsook him, and left to the Roman generals this important instruction*, viz. Never to let their own forces be exceeded in number by those of foreigners. He guessed that his brother was slain, and his army defeated, upon seeing such great bodies of the enemy arrive. He survived him but a short time, being killed in the engagement. These two great men were equally lamented by their citizens and allies; and the Spaniards bewailed their memory, because of the justice and moderation of their conduct.

These vast countries seemed now inevitably lost; but the valour of L. Marcius†, a private officer of the Equestrian order, preserved them to the Romans. Shortly after this, the younger Scipio was sent thither, who greatly revenged the death of his father and uncle, and restored the affairs of the Romans in Spain to their former flourishing condition.

THE DEFEAT AND DEATH OF ASDRUBAL.

‡One unforeseen defeat ruined all the measures, and blasted

* Id quidem cavendum semper Romanis ducibus erit, exemplaque hæc vere pro documentis habenda. Ne ita externis credant auxiliis, ut non plus sui roboris suarumque proprie virium in castris habeant. Liv. n. 33.

† He attacked the Carthaginians, who had divided themselves into two camps, and were secure, as they thought, from any immediate attempt of the Romans; killed 37,000 of them, took 1800 prisoners, and brought off immense plunder. Liv. xxv. n. 39.

‡ A. M. 3798. A. Rom. 542. Polyb. l. xi. p. 622—625. Liv. l. xxvii. p. 35—39—51.

all the hopes of Hannibal with regard to Italy. The conſuls of this year, which was the eleventh of the ſecond Punic war, (for I paſs over ſeveral events for brevity's ſake) were C. Claudius Nero, and M. Livius. The latter had for his province the Ciſalpin Gaul, where he was to oppoſe Aſdrubal, who, it was reported, was preparing to paſs the Alps. The former commanded in the country of the Brutians, and in Lucania, that is, in the oppoſite extremity of Italy, and was there making head againſt Hannibal.

The paſſage of the Alps gave Aſdrubal very little trouble, becauſe his brother had cleared the way for him, and all the nations were diſpoſed to receive him. Some time after this, he diſpatched couriers to Hannibal, but they were intercepted. Nero found by their letters, that Aſdrubal was haſtening to join his brother in Umbria. In a conjuncture of ſo delicate and important a nature as this, when the ſafety of Rome lay at ſtake, he thought himſelf at liberty to diſpenſe with the eſtabliſhed rules * of his duty, for the welfare of his country. In conſequence of this, it was his opinion, that ſuch a bold and unexpected blow ought to be ſtruck, as might be capable of ſtriking terror into the enemy; by marching to the relief of his colleague, in order for them to charge Aſdrubal unexpectedly with their united forces. This deſign, if the ſeveral circumſtances of it were thoroughly examined, will appear exceeding remote from imprudence. To prevent the two brothers from joining their armies, was to ſave the ſtate. Very little would be hazarded, even though Hannibal ſhould be informed of the abſence of the conſul. From his army, which conſiſted of 42,000 men, he drew out but 7000 for his own detachment, which indeed were the flower of his troops, but, at the ſame time, a very inconſiderable part of them. The reſt remained in the camp, which was advantageouſly ſituated, and ſtrongly fortified. Now could it be ſuppoſed, that Hannibal would attack, and force a camp, defended by 35,000 men?

Nero ſet out without giving his ſoldiers the leaſt notice of his deſign. When he advanced ſo far that it might be communicated without any danger, he told them, that he was leading them to certain victory: that, in war, all things depended upon reputation; that the bare rumour of their arrival would diſconcert all the meaſures of the Carthaginians; and that the whole honour of this battle would fall to them.

* No general was allowed to leave his own province, to go into that of another.

They

They marched with extraordinary diligence, and joined the other conſul in the night, but did not pitch ſeparate camps, the better to impoſe upon the enemy. The troops which were newly arrived joined thoſe of Livius. The army of Porcius the prætor was incamped near that of the conſul, and in the morning a council of war was held. Livius was of opinion, that it might be proper to allow the troops ſome days to refreſh themſelves; but Nero beſought him not to ruin, by delay, an enterpriſe to which diſpatch only could give ſucceſs; and to take advantage of the error of the enemy, as well abſent as preſent. This advice was complied with, and accordingly the ſignal for battle was given. Aſdrubal, advancing to his foremoſt ranks, diſcovered by ſeveral circumſtances that freſh troops were arrived; and he did not doubt but that they belonged to the other conſul. This made him conjecture, that his brother had ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs, and, at the ſame time, fear that he was come too late to his aſſiſtance.

After making theſe reflections, he cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and his army began to march in great diſorder. Night overtaking him, and his guides deſerting, he was uncertain what way to go. He marched, at random, along the banks of the river Metaurus*, and was preparing to croſs it, when the three armies of the enemy came up with him. In this extremity, he ſaw it would be impoſſible for him to avoid coming to an engagement; and therefore did all things which could be expected from the preſence of mind and valour of a great captain. He ſeized an advantageous poſt, and drew up his forces on a narrow ſpot, which gave him an opportunity of poſting his left wing (the weakeſt part of his army) in ſuch a manner that it could neither be attacked in front, nor charged in flank; and of giving to his main battle and right wing a greater depth than front. After this haſty diſpoſition of his forces, he poſted himſelf in the centre, and firſt marched to attack the enemy's left wing, well knowing that all was at ſtake, and that he muſt either conquer or die. This battle laſted a long time, and was obſtinately diſputed by both parties. Aſdrubal, eſpecially, ſignalized himſelf in this engagement, and added new glory to that he had already acquired by a ſeries of ſhining actions. He led on his ſoldiers, trembling and quite diſpirited, againſt an enemy ſuperior to them both in numbers and reſolution. He animated them by his words, ſupported them by his example, and, with intreaties and menaces, endeavoured to

* Now called Metaro.

bring back thoſe who fled; till, at laſt, ſeeing that victory declared for the Romans, and being unable to ſurvive the loſs of ſo many thouſand men, who had quitted their country to follow his fortune, he ruſhed at once into the midſt of a Roman cohort, and there died in a manner worthy the ſon of Hamilcar, and the brother of Hannibal.

This was the moſt bloody battle the Carthaginians had fought during this war: and, whether we conſider the death of the general, or the ſlaughter made of the Carthaginian forces, it may be looked upon as a repriſal for the battle of Cannæ. The Carthaginians loſt 55,000 men*, and 6000 were taken priſoners. The Romans loſt 8000. Theſe were ſo weary of killing, that ſome perſon telling Livius, that he might very eaſily cut to pieces a body of the enemy who were flying: "It is fit," ſays he, "that ſome ſhould ſurvive, in order that "they may carry the news of this defeat to the Carthagi-"nians."

Nero ſet out upon his march, on the very night which followed the engagement. Through all places where he paſſed, in his return, ſhouts of joy and loud acclamations welcomed him, inſtead of thoſe fears and uneaſineſſes which his coming had occaſioned. He arrived in his camp the ſixth day. Aſdrubal's head being thrown into that of the Carthaginians, informed Hannibal of his brother's unhappy fate. Hannibal perceived, by this cruel ſtroke, the fortune of Carthage: "It "is done," ſays he †, "I will no longer ſend triumphant meſ-"ſages to Carthage. In loſing Aſdrubal, I have loſt at once "all my hope, all my good fortune." He afterwards retired to the extremity of the country of the Brutians, where he aſſembled all his forces, who found it a very difficult matter to ſubſiſt there, as no proviſions were ſent them from Carthage.

SCIPIO CONQUERS ALL SPAIN.—IS APPOINTED CONSUL AND SAILS INTO AFRICA.—HANNIBAL IS RECALLED.

‡ The fate of arms was not more propitious to the Cartha-

* According to Polybius, the loſs amounted but to 10,000 men, and that of the Romans to 2000, l. xi. p. 870. edit. Gronov.

† Horace makes him ſpeak thus, in the beautiful ode where this defeat is deſcribed.

Carthagini jam non ego nuntios
Mittam ſuperbos. Occidit, occidit
Spes omnis et fortuna noſtri
Nominis, Aſdrubale interempto. Lib. vi. Od. 4.

‡ A.M. 5799. A. Rom. 543. Polyb. l. xi. p. 150. & l. xiv. p. 677—687. & l. xv. p. 689—694. Liv. l. xxviii. n. 1—4—16—38—40—46. l. xxix. n. 24—36. l. xxx. n. 20—28.

ginians

ginians in Spain. The prudent vivacity of young Scipio had reſtored the Roman affairs in that country to their former flouriſhing ſtate, as the courageous ſlowneſs of Fabius had before done in Italy. The three Carthaginian generals in Spain, Aſdrubal ſon of Giſgo, Hanno, and Mago, having been defeated with their numerous armies by the Romans, in ſeveral engagements, Scipio at laſt poſſeſſed himſelf of all Spain, and ſubjected it entirely to the Roman power. It was at this time that Maſiniſſa, a very powerful African prince, went over to the Romans; and Syphax, on the contrary, to the Carthaginians.

* Scipio, at his return to Rome, was declared conſul, being then 30 years of age. He had P. Licinius Craſſus for his colleague. Sicily was allotted to Scipio, with permiſſion for him to croſs over into Africa, if he found it convenient. He ſet out with all imaginable expedition for his province; whilſt his colleague was to command in the country whither Hannibal was retired.

The taking of New Carthage, where Scipio had diſplayed all the prudence, the courage and capacity which could have been expected from the greateſt generals, and the conqueſt of all Spain, were more than ſufficient to immortalize his name: but he had conſidered theſe only as ſo many ſteps by which he was to climb to a nobler enterprize, and this was the conqueſt of Africa. Accordingly he croſſed over thither, and made it the ſeat of the war.

The devaſtation of the country; the ſiege of Utica, one of the ſtrongeſt cities of Africa; the entire defeat of the two armies under Syphax and Aſdrubal, whoſe camp was burned by Scipio; and afterwards the taking Syphax himſelf priſoner, who was the moſt powerful reſource the Carthaginians had left; all theſe things forced them at laſt to turn their thoughts to peace. They thereupon deputed 30 of their principal ſenators, who were ſelected for that purpoſe, out of the powerful body at Carthage, called the "council of the hundred." Being introduced into the Roman general's tent, they all threw themſelves proſtrate on the earth (ſuch was the cuſtom of their country), ſpoke to him in terms of great ſubmiſſion, accuſing Hannibal as the author of all their calamities, and promiſing in the name of the ſenate an implicit obedience to whatever the Romans ſhould pleaſe to ordain. Scipio anſwered, that though he was come into Africa, not for peace but

* A. M. 3800. A. Rom. 544.

conqueſt, he would however grant them a peace, upon condition that they ſhould deliver up all the priſoners and deſerters to the Romans; that they ſhould recall their armies out of Italy and Gaul; ſhould never ſet foot again in Spain; ſhould retire out of all the iſlands between Italy and Africa; ſhould deliver up all their ſhips, 20 excepted, to the victor; ſhould give to the Romans 500,000 buſhels of wheat, 300,000 of barley, and pay 15,000 talents: that in caſe they were pleaſed with theſe conditions, they then might ſend ambaſſadors to the ſenate. The Carthaginians feigned a compliance, but this was only to gain time, till Hannibal ſhould be returned. A truce was then granted to the Carthaginians, who immediately ſent deputies to Rome, and at the ſame time an expreſs to Hannibal, to order his return into Africa.

* He was then, as was obſerved before, in the extremity of Italy. Here he received the orders from Carthage, which he could not liſten to without groans, and almoſt tears; and was exaſperated almoſt to madneſs, to ſee himſelf thus forced to quit his prey. Never baniſhed man † ſhowed ſo much regret at leaving his native country, as Hannibal did in going out of that of an enemy. He often turned his eyes wiſhfully to Italy, accuſing gods and men of his misfortunes, and calling down a thouſand curſes, ſays ‡ Livy, upon himſelf for not having marched his ſoldiers directly to Rome, after the battle of Cannæ, whilſt they were ſtill reeking with the blood of its citizens.

At Rome, the ſenate, greatly diſſatisfied with the excuſes made by the Carthaginian deputies in juſtification of their republic, and the ridiculous offer of their adhering, in its name, to the treaty of Lutatius; thought proper to refer the deciſion of the whole to Scipio, who, being on the ſpot, could beſt judge what conditions beſt ſuited the welfare of the ſtate.

About the ſame time, Octavius the prætor ſailing from Sicily with 200 veſſels of burden, was attacked near Carthage by a furious ſtorm, which diſperſed all his fleet. The citizens,

* A. M. 3802. A. Rom. 546.

† Raro quenquam alium patriam exilii cauſa relinquentem magis mœſtum abiiſſe ferunt, quam Annibalem hoſtium terra excedentem. Reſpexiſſe ſæpe Italiæ littora, & deos hominesque accuſantem, in ſe quoque ac ſuum ipſius caput execratum, "Quod non cruentum ab Cannenſi victoria militem Romam duxiſſet." Liv. l. xxx. n. 20.

‡ Livy ſuppoſes, however, that this delay was a capital error in Hannibal, which he himſelf afterwards regretted.

not

not bearing to see so rich a prey escape them, demanded importunately that the Carthaginian fleet might sail out and seize it. The senate, after a faint resistance, complied. Asdrubal sailing out of the harbour, seized the greatest part of the Roman ships, and brought them to Carthage, although the truce was still subsisting.

Scipio sent deputies to the Carthaginian senate, to complain of this, but they were little regarded. Hannibal's approach had revived their courage, and filled them with great hopes. The deputies were even in great danger of being ill treated by the populace. They therefore demanded a convoy, which was granted, and accordingly two ships of the republic attended them. But the magistrates, who were absolutely against peace, and determined to renew the war, gave private orders to Asdrubal, who was with the fleet near Utica, to attack the Roman galley when it should arrive in the river Bagrada near the Roman camp, where the convoy was ordered to leave them. He obeyed the order, and sent out two gallies against the ambassadors, who nevertheless made their escape, but with difficulty and danger.

This was a fresh subject for a war between the two nations, who now were more animated, or rather more exasperated one against the other, than ever; the Romans, from the strong desire they had to revenge so black a perfidy; and the Carthaginians, from a persuasion that they were not now to expect a peace.

At the same time Lælius and Fulvius, who carried the full powers with which the senate and people of Rome had invested Scipio, arrived in the camp, accompanied by the deputies of Carthage. As the Carthaginians had not only infringed the truce, but violated the law of nations, in the person of the Roman ambassadors, it was natural that their principals should order the Carthaginian deputies to be seized by way of reprisal. However, Scipio *, more attentive to the Roman generosity, than to the demerits of the Carthaginians, in order not to deviate from the principles and maxims of his own countrymen, nor his own character, dismissed the deputies, without offering them the least injury. So astonishing an instance of moderation, and at such a juncture, terrified the Carthaginians, and

* Ἐσκοπεῖτο παρ' ἑαυτῷ συλλογιζόμενος, εἰ ἔστι τί σέον παθεῖν Καρχηδονίους, ὡς τί δέον ἦν πράξαι Ῥωμαίους. Polyb. l. xv. p. 965. edit. Gronov. Quibus Scipio. Etsi non induciarum modo fides, sed etiam jus gentium in legatis violatum esset; tamen se nihil nec institutis populi Romani nec suis moribus indignum in iis facturum esse. Liv. l. xxx. n. 25.

even

even put them to the bluſh; and made Hannibal himſelf entertain a ſtill higher idea of a general, who, to the diſhonourable practices of his enemies, oppoſed only a rectitude and greatneſs of ſoul, that was ſtill more worthy of admiration than all his military virtues.

In the meantime, Hannibal, being ſtrongly importuned by his fellow-citizens, advanced forward into the country; and, arriving at Zama, which is five days march from Carthage, he there pitched his camp. He thence ſent out ſpies to obſerve the poſture of the Romans. Scipio, having ſeized theſe, ſo far from puniſhing them, only commanded them to be led about the Roman camp, in order that they might take an exact ſurvey of it, and then ſent them back to Hannibal. The latter knew very well whence ſo noble an aſſurance flowed. After the ſtrange reverſes he had met with, he no longer expected that fortune would again be propitious. Whilſt every one was exciting him to give battle, himſelf only meditated a peace. He flattered himſelf that the conditions of it would be more honourable for him, as he was at the head of an army, and as the fate of arms might ſtill appear uncertain. He therefore ſent to deſire an interview with Scipio, which accordingly was agreed to, and the time and place fixed.

THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN HANNIBAL AND SCIPIO FOLLOWED BY A BATTLE.

* Theſe two generals, who were not only the moſt illuſtrious of their own age, but worthy of being ranked with the moſt renowned princes and warriors that had ever lived, meeting at the place appointed, continued for ſome time in a deep ſilence, as though they were aſtoniſhed, and ſtruck with a mutual admiration at the ſight of each other. At laſt Hannibal ſpoke; and, after having praiſed Scipio in the moſt artful and delicate manner, he gave a very lively deſcription of the ravages of the war, and the calamities in which it had involved both the victors and the vanquiſhed. He conjured him, not to ſuffer himſelf to be dazzled by the ſplendor of his victories. He repreſented to him, that how ſucceſsful ſoever he might have hitherto been, he ought, however, to tremble at the inconſtancy of fortune: That without going far back for examples, he himſelf, who was then ſpeaking to him, was a glaring proof of this: That Scipio was at that time what himſelf, Hannibal, had been at Thraſymene and Cannæ: That

* A. M. 3803. A. Rom. 547. Polyb. l. xv. p. 694—703. Liv. l. xxx. n. 29—35.

he

he ought to make a better use of opportunity than himself had done, and consent to peace, now it was in his power to propose the conditions of it. He concluded with declaring, that the Carthaginians would willingly resign Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and all the islands between Africa and Italy to the Romans. That they must be forced, since such was the will of the gods, to confine themselves to Africa; whilst they should see the Romans extending their conquests to the most remote regions, and obliging all nations to pay obedience to their laws.

Scipio answered in few words, but not with less dignity. He reproached the Carthaginians for their perfidy, in plundering the Roman gallies before the truce was expired. He imputed to them only, and to their injustice, all the calamities with which the two wars had been attended. After thanking Hannibal for the admonition he gave him, with regard to the uncertainty of human events, he concluded with desiring him to prepare for battle, unless he chose rather to accept of the conditions that had been already proposed; to which, he observed, some others would be added, in order to punish the Carthaginians for their having violated the truce.

Hannibal could not prevail with himself to accept these conditions, and the generals left one another, with the resolution to decide the fate of Carthage by a general battle. Each commander exhorted his troops to fight valiantly. Hannibal enumerated the victories he had gained over the Romans, the generals he had slain, the armies he had cut to pieces. Scipio represented to his soldiers, the conquests of both the Spains, his successes in Africa, and the tacit confession their enemies themselves made of their weakness, by thus coming to sue for peace. All this he spoke * with the tone and air of a conqueror. Never were motives more prevalent to prompt troops to behave gallantly. This day was to complete the glory of the one or the other of the generals; and to decide whether Rome or Carthage was to prescribe laws to all other nations.

I shall not undertake to describe the order of the battle, nor the valour of the forces on both sides. The reader will naturally suppose, that two such experienced generals did not forget any circumstance which could contribute to the victory. The Carthaginians, after a very obstinate fight, were obliged to fly, leaving 20,000 men on the field of battle, and the like

* Celsus hæc corpore vultuque ita læto, ut vicisse jam crederes, dicebat. Liv. l. xxx. n. 32.

number

number of prisoners were taken by the Romans. Hannibal escaped in the tumult, and, entering Carthage, owned that he was irrecoverably overthrown, and that the citizens had no other choice left, but to accept of peace on any conditions. Scipio bestowed great eulogiums on Hannibal, chiefly with regard to his capacity in taking advantages, his manner of drawing up his army, and giving out his orders in the engagement; and he affirmed, that Hannibal had this day surpassed himself, although the success had not answered his valour and conduct.

With regard to himself, he well knew how to make a proper advantage of the victory, and the consternation with which he had filled the enemy. He commanded one of his lieutenants to march his land-army to Carthage, whilst himself prepared to sail the fleet thither.

He was not far from the city, when he met a vessel covered with streamers and olive branches, bringing ten of the most considerable persons of the state, as ambassadors to implore his clemency. However, he dismissed them without making any answer, and bid them come to him at Tunis, where he should halt. The deputies of Carthage, being 30 in number, came to him at the place appointed, and sued for peace in the most submissive terms. He then called a council there, the majority of which were for razing Carthage, and treating the inhabitants with the utmost severity. But the consideration of the time which must necessarily be employed before so strongly fortified a city could be taken, and Scipio's fear left a successor might be appointed him whilst he should be employed in the siege, made him incline to clemency.

A PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE CARTHAGINIANS AND THE ROMANS.

THE END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

*The conditions of the peace dictated by Scipio to the Carthaginians were, "That the Carthaginians should continue "free, and preserve their laws, their territories, and the cities "they possessed in Africa before the war: that they should "deliver up to the Romans all deserters, slaves, and captives "belonging to them; all their ships, except 10 triremes; all "their tame elephants, and that they should not train up any "more for war: that they should not make war out of Africa, "nor even in that country, without first obtaining leave for

* Polyb. l. xv. p. 704—707. Liv. xxx. n. 36—44.

"that

"that purpoſe from the Roman people: ſhould reſtore to "Maſiniſſa all they had diſpoſſeſſed either him or his anceſtors "of: ſhould furniſh money and corn to the Roman auxiliaries "till their ambaſſadors ſhould be returned from Rome: ſhould "pay to the Romans 10,000 Euboic talents * of ſilver in 50 "annual payments; and give an hundred hoſtages, who ſhould "be nominated by Scipio. And in order that they might "have time to ſend to Rome, it was agreed to grant them a "truce, upon condition that they ſhould reſtore the ſhips taken "during the former, without which they were not to expect "either a truce or peace."

When the deputies were returned to Carthage, they laid before the ſenate the conditions dictated by Scipio. But they appeared ſo intolerable to Giſgo, that riſing up, he made a ſpeech, in order to diſſuade his citizens from accepting a peace on ſuch ſhameful terms. Hannibal, provoked at the calmneſs with which ſuch an orator was heard, took Giſgo by the arm, and dragged him from his ſeat. A behaviour ſo outrageous, and ſo remote from the manner of a free city like Carthage, raiſed an univerſal murmur. Hannibal himſelf was vexed when he reflected on what he had done, and immediately made an apology for it. "As I left," ſays he, "your city at nine "years of age, and did not return to it till after 36 years ab- "ſence, I had full leiſure to learn the arts of war, and flatter "myſelf that I have made ſome improvement in them. As "for your laws and cuſtoms, it is no wonder I am ignorant of "them, and I therefore deſire you to inſtruct me in them." He then expatiated on the neceſſity they were under of concluding a peace. He added, that they ought to thank the gods for having prompted the Romans to grant them a peace even on theſe conditions. He diſcovered to them the great importance of their uniting in opinion; and of not giving an opportunity, by their diviſions, for the people to take an affair of this nature under their cognizance. The whole city came

* 10,000 Attic talents make 30,000,000 French money.—10,000 Euboic talents make ſomething more than 28,033,000 livres: becauſe, according to Budæus, the Euboic talent is equivalent but to 56 minæ, and ſomething more, whereas the Attic talent is worth 60 minæ.

Or otherwiſe thus calculated in Engliſh money—

According to Budæus, the Euboic talent is -	56 Minæ.
56 minæ, reduced to Engliſh money, - -	L.0,000,175
Conſequently 10,000 Euboic talents make - -	1,750,000
So that the Carthaginians paid annually, - -	35,000

This calculation is as near the truth as it can well be brought, the Euboic talent being ſomething more than 56 minæ.

over

over to this opinion, and accordingly the peace was accepted. The ſenate made Scipio ſatisfaction with regard to the ſhips demanded by him; and, after obtaining a truce for three months, they ſent ambaſſadors to Rome.

Theſe Carthaginians, who were all venerable for their years and dignity, were admitted immediately to audience. Aſdrubal, ſurnamed Hœdus, who was ſtill an irreconcileable enemy to Hannibal and his faction, ſpoke firſt, and after having excuſed, to the beſt of his power, the people of Carthage, by imputing the rupture to the ambition of ſome particular perſons, he added, that had the Carthaginians liſtened to his counſels, and thoſe of Hanno, they would have been able to grant the Romans the peace for which they now were obliged to ſue. "But*," continued he, "wiſdom and proſperity are very "rarely found together. The Romans are invincible, becauſe "they never ſuffer themſelves to be blinded by good fortune. "And it would be ſurpriſing ſhould they act otherwiſe. Suc- "ceſs dazzles thoſe only to whom it is new and unuſual; "whereas the Romans are ſo much accuſtomed to conquer, "that they are almoſt inſenſible to the charms of victory; "and it may be ſaid for their glory, that they have extended "their empire, in ſome meaſure, more by the humanity they "have ſhown to the conquered, than by the conqueſt itſelf." The other ambaſſadors ſpoke with a more plaintive tone of voice, and repreſented the calamitous ſtate to which Carthage was going to be reduced, and the grandeur and power from which it had fallen.

The ſenate and people being equally inclined to peace, ſent full powers to Scipio to conclude it, left the conditions to that general, and permitted him to march back his army after the treaty ſhould be concluded.

The ambaſſadors deſired leave to enter the city, to redeem ſome of their priſoners, and they found about 200 whom they deſired to ranſom: but the ſenate ſent them to Scipio, with orders that they ſhould be reſtored without any pecuniary conſideration, in caſe a peace ſhould be concluded.

The Carthaginians, on the return of their ambaſſadors, concluded a peace with Scipio, on the terms he himſelf had pre-

* Raro ſimul hominibus bonam fortunam bonamque mentem dari. Populum Romanum eo invictum eſſe, quod in ſecundis rebus ſapere et conſulere meminerit. Et hercle mirandum fuiſſe ſi aliter focerent. Ex inſolentia, quibus nova bona fortuna ſit, impotentes lætitia inſanire; Populo Romano uſitata ac prope obſoleta ex victoria gaudia eſſe; ac plus pene parcendo victis, quam vincendo, imperium auxiſſe. Liv. l. xxx. n. 42.

ſcribed.

ſcribed. They then delivered up to him more than 500 ſhips, all which he burnt in ſight of Carthage: a lamentable ſight to the inhabitants of that ill-fated city! He ſtruck off the heads of the allies of the Latin name, and hanged all the citizens who were ſurrendered up to him as deſerters.

When the time for the payment of the firſt tax impoſed by the treaty was expired, as the funds of the government were exhauſted by this long and expenſive war, the difficulty which would be found to levy ſo great a ſum threw the ſenate into a melancholy ſilence, and many could not refrain even from tears. It is ſaid, that Hannibal, laughing, was reproached by Aſdrubal Hœdus, for thus inſulting his country in its affliction, which he had brought upon it. "Were it poſſible," ſays Hannibal, "for my heart to be ſeen, and that as clearly as my counte-"nance, you would then find, that this laughter, which offends "ſo much, flows not from an intemperate joy, but from a "mind almoſt diſtracted with the public calamities. But is this "laughter more unſeaſonable than your unbecoming tears? "Then, then ought you to have wept, when your arms were "ingloriouſly taken from you, your ſhips burnt, and you were "forbid to engage in any foreign wars. This was the mortal "blow which laid us proſtrate. We are ſenſible of the public "calamity, ſo far only as we have a perſonal concern in it; "and the loſs of our money gives us the moſt poignant ſorrow. "Hence it was, that when our city was made the ſpoil of the "victor; when it was left diſarmed and defenceleſs amidſt ſo "many powerful nations of Africa, who had at that time "taken the field, not a groan, not a ſigh was heard: but now "when you are called on for a poll-tax, you bewail and lament "as if all were loſt. Alas! I only wiſh that the ſubject of "this day's fear does not ſoon appear to you the leaſt of your "misfortunes."

Scipio, after all things were concluded, embarked in order to return to Italy. He arrived at Rome, through crowds of people, whom curioſity had drawn together to behold his march. The moſt magnificent triumph that Rome had ever ſeen was decreed him, and the ſurname of Africanus was beſtowed upon this great man, an honour till then unknown, no perſons before him having aſſumed the name of a vanquiſhed nation. *Such was the concluſion of the ſecond Punic war, after having laſted 17 years.

* A. M. 3804. A. Carth. 646. A. Rom. 548. Ant. J. C. 200.

A SHORT REFLECTION ON THE GOVERNMENT OF CARTHAGE, IN THE TIME OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

I ſhall conclude the particulars which relate to the ſecond Punic war with a reflection of *Polybius, which will ſhow the difference between the two commonwealths. It may be affirmed, in ſome meaſure, that at the beginning of the ſecond Punic war, and in Hannibal's time, Carthage was in its decline. The flower of its youth, and its ſprightly vigour, were already diminiſhed. It had begun to fall from its exalted pitch of power, and was inclining towards its ruin: whereas Rome was then, as it were, in its bloom and ſtrength of life, and ſwiftly advancing to the conqueſt of the univerſe. The reaſon of the declenſion of the one, and the riſe of the other, is taken, by Polybius, from the different form of government eſtabliſhed in theſe commonwealths, at the time we are now ſpeaking of. At Carthage, the common people had ſeized upon the ſovereign authority with regard to public affairs, and the advice of their ancient men or magiſtrates were no longer liſtened to; all affairs were tranſacted by intrigue and cabal. To take no notice of the artifices which the faction oppoſite to Hannibal employed, during the whole time of his command, to perplex him; the ſingle inſtance of burning the Roman veſſels during a truce, a perfidious action to which the common people compelled the ſenate to lend their name and aſſiſtance, is a proof of Polybius's aſſertion. On the contrary, at this very time, the Romans paid the higheſt regard to their ſenate, that is, to a body compoſed of the greateſt ſages; and their old men were liſtened to and revered as oracles. It is well known that the Roman people were exceedingly jealous of their authority, and eſpecially in that part of it which related to the election of magiſtrates. †A century of young men, who by lot were to give the firſt vote, which generally directed all the reſt, had nominated two conſuls. On the bare remonſtrance of Fabius‡, who repreſented to the people, that in a tempeſt, like that with which Rome was then ſtruggling, the ableſt pilots ought to be choſen to ſteer their common ſhip, the republic; upon this, I ſay, the century returned to their

* Lib. vi. p. 493, 494.

† Liv. l. xxiv. n. 8, 9.

‡ Quilibet nautarum rectorumque tranquillo mari gubernare poteſt; Ubi ſæva orta tempeſtas eſt, ac turbato mari rapitur vento navis, tum viro et gubernatore opus eſt. Non tranquillo navigamus, ſed jam aliquot percellis ſubmerſi pene ſumus. Itaque quis ad gubernacula ſedeat, ſumma cura providendum ac præcavendum nobis eſt.

ſuffrages,

ſuffrages, and nominated other conſuls. Polybius, from this diſparity of government, infers, that a people, thus guided by the prudence of old men, could not fail of prevailing over a ſtate which was governed wholly by the giddy multitude. And indeed the Romans, under the guidance of the wiſe counſels of their ſenate, gained at laſt the ſuperiority with regard to the war conſidered in general, though they were defeated in ſeveral particular engagements, and eſtabliſhed their power and grandeur on the ruin of their rivals.

THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD PUNIC WAR.

THIS interval, though conſiderable enough with regard to its duration, ſince it took up above 50 years, is very little remarkable as to the events which relate to Carthage. They may be reduced to two heads; of which the one relates to the perſon of Hannibal, and the other to ſome particular differences between the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa king of the Numidians. We ſhall treat both ſeparately, but with no great extent.

SECTION I.

CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF HANNIBAL.

When the ſecond Punic war was ended, by the treaty of peace concluded with Scipio, Hannibal, as he himſelf obſerved in the Carthaginian ſenate, was 45 years of age. What we have further to ſay of this great man, includes the ſpace of 25 years.

HANNIBAL undertakes and completes the reformation of the Courts of Juſtice and the Treaſury of CARTHAGE.

After the concluſion of the peace, Hannibal, at leaſt in the beginning, was greatly reſpected in Carthage, where he filled the firſt employments of the ſtate with honour and applauſe. *He headed the Carthaginian forces in ſome wars againſt the Africans: but the Romans, to whom the very name of Hannibal gave uneaſineſs, not being able to ſee him in arms, made complaints on that account; and accordingly he was recalled to Carthage.

† On his return he was appointed prætor, which ſeems to have been a very conſiderable employment, as well as of great authority. Carthage is therefore going to be, with regard to

* Corn. Nep. in Annib. c. 7. † A. M. 3810. A. Rom. 554.

him, a new theatre, as it were, on which he will display virtues and qualities of a quite different nature from those we have hitherto admired in him, and which will finish the picture of this illustrious man.

Eagerly desirous of restoring the affairs of his afflicted country to their former happy condition, he was persuaded, that the two most powerful methods to make a state flourish, were, an exact and equal distribution of justice to all people in general, and a faithful management of the public finances. The former, by preserving an equality among the citizens, and making them enjoy such a delightful, undisturbed liberty, under the protection of the laws, as fully secures their honour, their lives, and properties, unites the individuals of the commonwealth more closely together, and attaches them more firmly to the state, to which they owe the preservation of all that is most dear and valuable to them. The latter, by a faithful administration of the public revenues, supplies punctually the several wants and necessities of the state; keeps in reserve a never-failing resource for sudden emergencies, and prevents the people from being burdened with new taxes, which are rendered necessary by extravagant profusion, and which chiefly contribute to make men harbour an aversion for a government.

Hannibal saw with great concern the irregularities which had crept equally into the administration of justice, and the management of the finances. Upon his being nominated prætor, as his love for regularity and order made him uneasy at every deviation from it, and prompted him to use his utmost endeavours to restore it, he had the courage to attempt the reformation of this double abuse, which drew after it a numberless multitude of others, without dreading either the animosity of the old faction that opposed him, or the new enmity which his zeal for the republic must necessarily raise.

*The judges exercised the most cruel rapine with impunity. They were so many petty tyrants, who disposed, in an arbitrary manner, of the lives and fortunes of the citizens; without there being the least possibility of putting a stop to their injustice, because they held their commissions for life, and mutually supported one another. Hannibal, as prætor, summoned before his tribunal an officer, belonging to the bench of judges, who openly abused his power. Livy tells us that he was a questor. This officer, who was in the opposite faction to

* Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 46.

Hannibal,

Hannibal, and had already assumed all the pride and haughtiness of the judges, among whom he was to be admitted at the expiration of his present office, insolently refused to obey the summons. Hannibal was not of a disposition to suffer an affront of this nature tamely. Accordingly he caused him to be seized by a lictor, and brought him before the assembly of the people. There, not satisfied with levelling his resentment against this single officer, he impeached the whole bench of judges, whose insupportable and tyrannical pride was not restrained, either by the fear of the laws, or a reverence for the magistrates: and as Hannibal perceived that he was heard with pleasure, and that the lowest and most inconsiderable of the people discovered on this occasion that they were no longer able to bear the insolent pride of these judges, who seemed to have a design upon their liberties, he proposed a law, which accordingly passed, by which it was enacted, that new judges should be chosen annually, with a clause, that none should continue in office beyond that term. This law, at the same time that it acquired him the friendship and esteem of the people, drew upon him, proportionably, the hatred of the greatest part of the grandees and nobility.

* He attempted another reformation, which created him new enemies, but gained him great honour. The public revenues were either squandered away by the negligence of those who had the management of them, or were plundered by the chief men of the city, and the magistrates; so that money being wanting to pay the annual tribute due to the Romans, the Carthaginians were going to levy it upon the people in general. Hannibal, entering into a large detail of the public revenues, ordered an exact estimate of them to be laid before him; inquired in what manner they had been applied; the employments and ordinary expences of the state; and having discovered, by this inquiry, that the public funds had been in a great measure embezzled, by the fraud of the officers who had the management of them, he declared and promised, in a full assembly of the people, that without laying any new taxes upon private men, the republic should hereafter be enabled to pay the tribute to the Romans: and he was as good as his word. The farmers of the revenues, whose plunder and rapine he had publicly detected, having accustomed themselves hitherto to fatten upon the spoils of their country, exclaimed † vehemently against these

* Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 46, 47.

† Tum vero isti quos paverat per aliquot annos publicus peculatus, ve-

theſe regulations, as if their own property had been forced out of their hands, and not the ſums they had plundered from the public.

THE RETREAT AND DEATH OF HANNIBAL.

*THIS double reformation of abuſes raiſed great clamours againſt Hannibal. His enemies were writing inceſſantly to the chief men, or their friends, at Rome, to inform them, that he was carrying on a ſecret intelligence with Antiochus king of Syria; that he frequently received couriers from him; and that this prince had privately diſpatched agents to Hannibal, to concert, with him, the meaſures for carrying on the war he was meditating: That as ſome animals are ſo extremely fierce, that it is impoſſible ever to tame them, in like manner this man was of ſo turbulent and implacable a ſpirit, that he could not brook eaſe, and therefore would, ſooner or later, break out again. Theſe informations were liſtened to at Rome; and as the tranſactions of the preceding war had been begun and carried on almoſt ſolely by Hannibal, they appeared the more probable. However, Scipio ſtrongly oppoſed the violent meaſures which the ſenate were going to take, on their receiving this intelligence, by repreſenting it as derogatory to the dignity of the Roman people, to countenance the hatred and accuſations of Hannibal's enemies; to ſupport, with their authority, their unjuſt paſſions; and obſtinately to purſue him even to the very heart of his country; as though the Romans had not humbled him ſufficiently, in driving him out of the field, and forcing him to lay down his arms.

But notwithſtanding theſe prudent remonſtrances, the ſenate appointed three commiſſioners to go and make their complaints to Carthage, and to command that Hannibal ſhould be delivered up to them. On their arrival in that city, though other things were ſpeciouſly pretended, yet Hannibal was perfectly ſenſible that himſelf only was aimed at. The evening being come, he conveyed himſelf on board a ſhip, which he had ſecretly provided for that purpoſe; on which occaſion he bewailed his country's fate more than his own. *Sæpius patriæ quam† ſuorum eventus miſeratus.* This was the eighth year after the concluſion of the peace. The firſt place he landed at was Tyre, where he was received as in his ſecond country, and had all the

lut bonis ereptis, non furto eorum manibus extorto, infenſi et irati, Romanos in Annibalem, et ipſos cauſam odii quærentes, inſtigabant. Liv.

* Ibid. l. xxxiii. n. 45—49.

† It ſhould be, I think, "ſuos."

honours

honours paid him which were due to his exalted merit.* After ſtaying ſome days here, he ſet out for Antioch, which the king had lately left, and from thence waited upon him at Epheſus. The arrival of ſo renowned a general gave great pleaſure to the king, and did not a little contribute to determine him to engage in war againſt Rome; for hitherto he had appeared wavering and uncertain on that head. †In this city a philoſopher, who was looked upon as the greateſt orator of Aſia, had the imprudence to harangue before Hannibal, on the duties of a general, and the rules of the art-military. The ſpeech charmed the whole audience. But Hannibal being aſked his opinion of it, "I have ſeen," ſays he, "many old "dotards in my life, but this exceeds them all‡."

The Carthaginians, juſtly fearing that Hannibal's eſcape would certainly draw upon them the arms of the Romans, ſent them advice that Hannibal was withdrawn to Antiochus §. The Romans were very much diſturbed at this news, and the king might have turned it extremely to his advantage, had he known how to make a proper uſe of it.

‖ The firſt counſel that Hannibal gave him at this time, and which he frequently repeated afterwards, was, to make Italy the ſeat of the war. He required 100 ſhips, 11 or 12,000 land-forces, and offered to take upon himſelf the command of the fleet; to croſs into Africa, in order to engage the Carthaginians in the war; and afterwards to make a deſcent upon Italy, during which the king himſelf ſhould be ready to croſs over, with his army, into Italy, whenever it ſhould be thought convenient. This was the only thing proper to be done, and the king approved very much the propoſal at firſt.

** Hannibal thought it would be expedient to prepare his

* A. M. 3812. A. Rom. 556. † Cic. de Orat. l. ii. n. 75, 76.

‡ Hic Pœnus libere reſpondiſſe fertur, multos ſe deliros ſenes ſæpe vidiſſe: Sed qui magis quam Phormio deliraret vidiſſe neminem. Stobæus, Serm. lii. gives the following account of this matter. Ἀννίβας ἀκούσας Στοικοῦ τινος ἐπιχειροῦντος, ὅτι ὁ σοφὸς μόνος στρατηγὸς ἐστὶν, ἐγέλασε, νομίζων ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἐκτὸς τῆς δι' ἔργων ἐμπειρίας τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν. i. e. Hannibal hearing a Stoic philoſopher undertake to prove that the wiſe man was the only general, laughed, as thinking it impoſſible for a man to have any ſkill in war, without being long practiſed in it.

§ They did more, for they ſent two ſhips to purſue Hannibal, and bring him back; they ſold off his goods, razed his houſe; and, by a public decree, declared him an exile. Such was the gratitude the Carthaginians ſhowed to the greateſt general they ever had. Corn. Nep. in vita Hannib. c. 7.

‖ Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 60. ** Ibid. n. 61.

friends

friends at Carthage, in order to engage them the more ſtrongly in his intereſt. The tranſmitting of particulars, by letters, is not only unſafe, but alſo gives an imperfect idea of things, and is never ſufficiently particular. He therefore diſpatched a truſty perſon with ample inſtructions to Carthage. This man was ſcarce arrived in the city, but his buſineſs was ſuſpected. Accordingly, he was watched and followed; and, at laſt, orders were iſſued for his being ſeized. However, he prevented the vigilance of his enemies, and eſcaped in the night; after having fixed in ſeveral public places, papers which fully declared the occaſion of his coming among them. The ſenate immediately ſent advice of this to the Romans.

*Villius, one of the deputies who had been ſent into Aſia, to inquire into the ſtate of affairs there, and, if poſſible, to diſcover the real deſigns of Antiochus, found Hannibal in Epheſus. He had many conferences with him, paid him ſeveral viſits, and ſpeciouſly affected to ſhow him a particular eſteem on all occaſions. But his chief aim, by all this artificial behaviour, was to make him be ſuſpected, and to leſſen his credit with the king, in which he ſucceeded but too well†.

‡Some authors affirm, that Scipio was joined in this embaſſy; and they even relate the converſation which that general had with Hannibal. They tell us, that the Roman having aſked him, who, in his opinion, was the greateſt captain that had ever lived; he anſwered, Alexander the Great, becauſe, with a handful of Macedonians, he had defeated numberleſs armies, and carried his conqueſts into countries ſo very remote, that it ſeemed ſcarce poſſible for any man only to travel ſo far. Being afterwards aſked to whom he gave the ſecond rank; he anſwered, to Pyrrhus: for this king, ſays Hannibal, firſt underſtood the art of pitching a camp to advantage; no commander had ever made a more judicious choice of his poſts, was better ſkilled in drawing up of his forces, or was more happy in winning the affection of foreign ſoldiers, inſomuch that even the people of Italy were more deſirous to have him

* A. M. 3813. A. Rom. 557. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 14. Polyb. l. iii. p. 166, 167.

† Polybius repreſents this application of Villius to Hannibal, as a premeditated deſign, in order to render him ſuſpected to Antiochus, becauſe of his intimacy with a Roman. Livy owns, that the affair ſucceeded as if it had been deſigned; but, at the ſame time, he gives, for a very obvious reaſon, another turn to this converſation, and ſays, that no more was intended by it, than to found Hannibal, and to remove any fears or apprehenſions he might be under from the Romans.

‡ Liv. l. xxxv. n. 14. Plut. in vit. Flamin. &c.

for

for their governor than the Romans themſelves, though they had ſo long been ſubject to them. Scipio, proceeding, aſked him next, whom he looked upon as the third captain; on which deciſion Hannibal made no ſcruple to give the preference to himſelf. Here Scipio could not forbear laughing: "But what "would you have ſaid," continued Scipio, "had you con- "quered me?" "I would," replied Hannibal, "have ranked "myſelf above Alexander, Pyrrhus, and all the generals the "world ever produced." Scipio was not inſenſible of ſo re- fined and delicate a flattery, which he no ways expected; and which, by giving him no rival, ſeemed to inſinuate, that no captain was worthy of being put in compariſon with him.

The anſwer, as told by *Plutarch, is leſs witty, and not ſo probable. In this author, Hannibal gives Pyrrhus the firſt place, Scipio the ſecond, and himſelf the third.

†Hannibal, ſenſible of the coldneſs with which Antiochus received him, ever ſince his conferences with Villius or Scipio, took no notice of it for ſome time, and ſeemed inſenſible of it. But at laſt he thought it adviſeable to come to an eclairciſſe- ment with the king, and to open his mind freely to him. "The "hatred," ſays he, "which I bear to the Romans, is known "to the whole world. I bound myſelf to it by an oath, from "my moſt tender infancy. It was this hatred that made me "draw the ſword againſt Rome during 36 years. It was that, "even in times of peace, drove me from my native country, "and forced me to ſeek an aſylum in your dominions. For "ever guided and fired by the ſame paſſion, ſhould my hopes "be eluded, I will fly to every part of the globe, and rouſe up "all nations againſt the Romans. I hate them, will hate them "eternally, and know that they bear me no leſs animoſity. "So long as you ſhall continue in the reſolution to take up "arms againſt that people, you may rank Hannibal in the "number of your beſt friends. But if other counſels incline "you to peace, I declare to you, once for all, addreſs yourſelf "to others for counſel, and not to me." Such a ſpeech, which came from his heart, and expreſſed the greateſt ſincer- ity, ſtruck the king, and ſeemed to remove all his ſuſpicions; ſo that he now reſolved to give Hannibal the command of part of his fleet.

‡But what havoc is not flattery capable of making in courts and in the minds of princes? Antiochus was told, "that it

* Plut. in Pyrrho, p. 687. † Ibid. n. 19.
‡ Liv. l. xxxv. n. 42, 43.

"was

" was imprudent in him to put ſo much confidence in Hanni-
" bal, an exile, a Carthaginian, whoſe fortune or genius might
" ſuggeſt, in one day, a thouſand different projects to him:
" that beſides, this very fame which Hannibal had acquired in
" war, and which he conſidered as his peculiar inheritance, was
" too great for a man who fought only under the enſigns
" of another: that none but the king ought to be the general
" and conductor of the war; and that it was incumbent on
" him to draw upon himſelf only the eyes and attention of all
" men; whereas, ſhould Hannibal be employed, he, a foreigner,
" would have the glory of all victories aſcribed to him." " No
" minds," * ſays Livy, on this occaſion, " are more ſuſceptible
" of envy, than thoſe whoſe merit is below their birth and
" dignity; ſuch perſons always abhorring virtue and worth in
" others, for this reaſon only, becauſe they are ſtrange and
" foreign to themſelves." This obſervation was fully verified on this occaſion. Antiochus had been taken on his weak ſide; a low and ſordid jealouſy, which is the defect and character-iſtic of little minds, extinguiſhed every generous ſentiment in that monarch. Hannibal was now ſlighted and laid aſide; however, the latter was greatly revenged on Antiochus, by the ill ſucceſs this prince met with; and ſhewed, how unfortunate that king is whoſe ſoul is acceſſible to envy, and his ears open to the poiſonous inſinuation of flatterers.

†In a council held ſome time after, to which Hannibal, for form's ſake, was admitted, he, when it came to his turn to ſpeak, endeavoured chiefly to prove, that Philip of Macedon ought, on any terms, to be invited into the alliance of Antiochus, which was not ſo difficult as might be imagined. " With
" regard," ſays Hannibal, " to the operations of the war, I
" adhere immoveably to my firſt opinion; and had my coun-
" ſels been liſtened to before, Tuſcany and Liguria would now
" be all in a flame, and Hannibal (a name that ſtrikes terror
" into the Romans) in Italy. Though I ſhould not be very
" well ſkilled as to other matters, yet the good and ill ſucceſs
" I have met with muſt neceſſarily have taught me ſufficiently
" how to carry on a war againſt the Romans. I have nothing
" now in my power but to give you my counſel and offer you
" my ſervice. May the gods give ſucceſs to all your undertak-

* Nulla ingenia tam prona ad invidiam ſunt, quam eorum qui genus ac fortunam ſuam animis non æquam: Quia virtutem et bonum alienum oderunt. Methinks it is better to read, ut bonum alienum.

† Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 7.

" ings."

"ings." Hannibal's ſpeech was received with applauſe, but not one of his counſels were put in execution.

*Antiochus, impoſed upon and lulled aſleep by his flatterers, remained quiet at Epheſus, after the Romans had drove him out of Greece; not once imagining that they would ever invade his dominions. Hannibal, who was now reſtored to favour, was for ever aſſuring him, that the war would ſoon be removed into Aſia, and that he would ſoon ſee the enemy at his gates: that he muſt reſolve, either to abdicate his throne, or oppoſe vigorouſly a people who graſped at the empire of the world. This diſcourſe waked, in ſome little meaſure, the king out of his lethargy, and prompted him to make ſome weak efforts. But, as his conduct was unſteady, after ſuſtaining a great many conſiderable loſſes, he was forced to terminate the war by an ignominious peace; one of the articles of which was, that he ſhould deliver up Hannibal to the Romans. However, the latter did not give him opportunity to put it in execution, retiring to the iſland of Crete, to conſider there what courſe it would be beſt for him to take.

†The riches he had brought along with him, of which the people of the iſland got ſome notice, had like to have proved his ruin. Hannibal was never wanting in ſtratagems, and he had occaſion to employ them now, to ſave both himſelf and his treaſure. He filled ſeveral veſſels with molten lead, which he juſt covered with gold and ſilver. Theſe he depoſited in the temple of Diaua, in preſence of ſeveral Cretans, to whoſe honeſty, he ſaid, he confided all his treaſure. A ſtrong guard was then poſted on the temple, and Hannibal left at full liberty, from a ſuppoſition that his riches were ſecured. But he had concealed them in hollow ſtatues of braſs‡, which he always carried along with him. §And then, embracing a favourable opportunity he had to make his eſcape, he fled to the court of Pruſias king of Bithynia.

It appears from hiſtory, that he made ſome ſtay in the court of this prince, who ſoon engaged in war with Eumenes king of Pergamus, a profeſſed friend to the Romans. By means of Hannibal, the troops of king Pruſias gained ſeveral victories both by land and ſea.

* Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 41.

† Corn. Nep. in Annib. c. 9, et 10. Juſtin. l. xxxii. c. 4.

‡ Theſe ſtatues were thrown out by him, in a place of public reſort, as things of little value. Corn. Nep.

§ A. M. 3820. A. Rom. 564. Corn. Nep. in Annib. c. 10, 11. Juſtin. l. xxxiii. c. 4.

He

* He employed a ſtratagem, of an extraordinary kind, in a ſea-fight. The enemy's fleet conſiſting of more ſhips than his, he had recourſe to artifice. He put into earthen veſſels all kinds of ſerpents, and ordered theſe veſſels to be thrown into the enemy's ſhips. His chief aim in this was, to deſtroy Eumenes; and for that purpoſe, it was neceſſary for him to find out which ſhip he was on board of. They obeyed, and would have taken it, had he not outſailed his purſuers. The reſt of the ſhips of Pergamus ſuſtained the fight with great vigour, till the earthen veſſels had been thrown into them. At firſt they only laughed at this, and were very much ſurpriſed to find ſuch weapons employed againſt them. But ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded with ſerpents which flew out of theſe veſſels, when they flew to pieces, they were ſeized with dread, retired in diſorder, and yielded the victory to the enemy.

† Services of ſo important a nature ſeemed to ſecure for ever to Hannibal an undiſturbed aſylum at that prince's court. However, the Romans would not ſuffer him to be eaſy there, but deputed Q. Flaminius to Pruſias, to complain of the protection he gave Hannibal. The latter eaſily gueſſed the motive of this embaſſy, and therefore did not wait till his enemies had an opportunity of delivering him up. At firſt he attempted to ſecure himſelf by flight; but perceiving that the ſeven ſecret outlets, which he had contrived in his palace, were all ſeized by the ſoldiers of Pruſias, who, by this perfidy, was deſirous of making his court to the Romans; he ordered the poiſon, which he had long kept for this melancholy occaſion, to be brought him, and taking it in his hand, "Let us," ſaid he, "free the Romans from the diſquiet with which they have ſo "long been tortured, ſince they have not patience to wait for "an old man's death. The victory which Flaminius gains "over a naked betrayed man, will not do him much honour. "This ſingle day will be a laſting teſtimony of the great degeneracy of the Romans. Their fathers ſent notice to Pyrrhus, to deſire he would beware of a traitor who intended to "poiſon him, and that at a time when this prince was at war "with them in the very centre of Italy; but their ſons have "deputed a perſon of conſular dignity, to ſpirit up Pruſias, "impiouſly to murder one, who is not only his friend, but his "gueſt." After calling down curſes upon Pruſias, and having invoked the gods, the protectors and avengers of the ſacred

* Juſtin. l. xxxii. c. 4. Corn. Nep. in vit. Annib.
† A. M. 3822. A. Rom. 566. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 51.

rights

rights of hoſpitality, he ſwallowed the poiſon*, and died at 70 years of age.

This year was remarkable for the death of three great men, Hannibal, Philopæmen, and Scipio, who had this in common, that they all died out of their native countries, by a death little correſpondent to the glory of their actions. The two firſt died by poiſon; Hannibal was betrayed by his hoſt; and Philopæmen being taken priſoner, in a battle againſt the Meſſenians, and thrown into a dungeon, was forced to ſwallow a doſe of poiſon. As to Scipio, he baniſhed himſelf, to avoid an unjuſt proſecution which was carrying on againſt him at Rome, and ended his days in a kind of obſcurity.

THE CHARACTER AND EULOGIUM OF HANNIBAL.

This would be the proper place for repreſenting the excellent qualities of Hannibal, who reflected ſo much glory on Carthage. But as I have attempted to draw his character † elſewhere, and to give a juſt idea of him, by making a compariſon between him and Scipio, I think myſelf diſpenſed from giving his eulogium at large in this place.

Perſons who devote themſelves to the profeſſion of arms, cannot ſpend too much time in the ſtudy of this great man, who is looked upon, by judges, as the moſt complete general, in almoſt every reſpect, that ever the world produced.

During the whole 17 years (the time the war laſted), two errors, only, are objected to him: Firſt, his not marching, immediately after the battle of Cannæ, his victorious army to Rome, in order to beſiege that city: Secondly, his ſuffering their courage to be ſoftened and enervated, during their winter quarters in Capua: errors, which only ſhow, that great men are not ſo in all things; ‡ *ſummi enim ſunt, homines tamen*; and which, perhaps, may be partly excuſed.

But then for theſe two errors what a multitude of ſhining qualities appear in Hannibal! How extenſive were his views and deſigns, even in his moſt tender years! What greatneſs of ſoul! What intrepidity! What preſence of mind muſt he have

* Plutarch, according to his cuſtom, aſſigns him three different deaths. Some, ſays he, relate, that having wrapped his cloak about his neck, he ordered his ſervant to fix his knees againſt his buttocks, and not to leave twiſting till he had ſtrangled him. Others ſay, that, in imitation of Themiſtocles and Midas, he drank bull's blood. Livy tells us, that Hannibal drank a poiſon which he always carried about him; and taking the cup into his hands, cried, "Let us free, &c." In vita Flaminii.

† Vol. II. Of the Method of Studying and Teaching the Belles Lettres.

‡ Quintil.

poſſeſſed, to be able, even in the fire and heat of action, to take all advantages! With what ſurpriſing addreſs muſt he have managed the minds of men, that, amidſt ſo great a variety of nations which compoſed his army, who often were in want of money and proviſions, his camp was not once diſturbed with any inſurrection, either againſt himſelf or any of his generals! With what equity, what moderation muſt he have behaved towards his new allies, to have prevailed ſo far, as to attach them inviolably to his ſervice, though he was reduced to the neceſſity of making them ſuſtain almoſt the whole burden of the war, by quartering his army upon them, and levying contributions in their ſeveral countries! In fine, how fruitful muſt he have been in expedients, to be able to carry on, for ſo many years, a war in a remote country, in ſpite of the violent oppoſition made by a powerful domeſtic faction, which refuſed him ſupplies of every kind, and thwarted him on all occaſions! It may be affirmed, that Hannibal, during the whole ſeries of this war, ſeemed the only prop of the ſtate, and the ſoul of every part of the empire of the Carthaginians, who could never believe themſelves conquered till Hannibal confeſſed that he himſelf was ſo.

But that man muſt know the character of Hannibal very imperfectly, who ſhould conſider him only at the head of armies. The particulars we learn from hiſtory, concerning the ſecret intelligence he held with Philip of Macedon; the wiſe counſels he gave to Antiochus king of Syria; the double regulation he introduced in Carthage, with regard to the management of the public revenues, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, prove, that he was a great ſtateſman in every reſpect. So ſuperior and univerſal was his genius, that it took in all parts of government, and ſo great were his natural abilities, that he was capable to acquit himſelf in all the various functions of it with glory. Hannibal ſhone as conſpicuouſly in the cabinet as in the field; equally able to fill the civil or the military employments. In a word, he united in his own perſon the different talents and merits of all profeſſions, the ſword, the gown, and the finances.

He had ſome learning; and though he was ſo much employed in military labours, and engaged in ſo many wars, he however found leiſure to cultivate the muſes *. Several ſmart repartees of Hannibal, which have been tranſmitted to us, ſhow

* Atque hic tantus vir, tantiſque bellis diſtrictus, non nihil temporis tribuit litteris, &c. Corn. Nep. in vita Annib. cap. 13.

that

that he had a great fund of natural wit; and this he improved, by the moſt polite education that could be beſtowed at that time, in ſuch a republic as Carthage. He ſpoke Greek tolerably well, and wrote ſome books in that language. His preceptor was a Lacedæmonian (Solſius) who, with Philenius, another Lacedæmonian, accompanied him in all his expeditions. Both theſe undertook to write the hiſtory of this renowned warrior.

With regard to his religion and moral conduct, he was not ſo profligate and wicked as he is repreſented by * Livy, "Cruel "even to inhumanity, more perfidious than a Carthaginian; "regardleſs of truth, of probity, of the ſacred ties of oaths; "fearleſs of the gods, and utterly void of religion. *Inhumana crudelitas, perfidia pluſquam Punica; nihil veri, nihil ſancti, nullus deum metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio.* † According to Polybius, he rejected a barbarous propoſal that was made him, before he entered Italy, and this was, to eat human fleſh, at a time when his army was in abſolute want of proviſions. ‡ Some years after, ſo far from treating with barbarity, as he was adviſed to do, the dead body of Sempronius Gracchus, which Mago had ſent him, he cauſed his funeral obſequies to be ſolemnized, in preſence of the whole army. We have ſeen him, on many occaſions, ſhowing the higheſt reverence for the gods; and § Juſtin, who copied Trogus Pompeius, an author worthy of credit, obſerves, that he always ſhowed uncommon wiſdom and continence, with regard to the great number of women taken by him during the courſe of ſo long a war; inſomuch, that no one would have imagined he had been born in Africa, where incontinence is the predominant vice of the country: *Pudicitiam quæ eum tantam inter tot captivas habuiſſe, ut in Africa natum quivis negaret.*

His diſregard of wealth, at a time when he had ſo many opportunities to enrich himſelf by the plunder of the cities he ſtormed, and the nations he ſubdued, ſhows, that he knew the true and genuine uſe which a general ought to make of riches, *viz.* to gain the affection of his ſoldiers, and to attach allies to his intereſt, by diffuſing his beneficence on proper occaſions, and not being ſparing in his rewards: a very eſſential quality, and at the ſame time as uncommon in a commander. The only uſe Hannibal made of money was to purchaſe ſucceſs;

* Lib. xxi. n. 4. † Excerpt. e Polyb. p. 33.
‡ Excerpt. e Diod. p. 282. Liv. l. xxv. n. 17.
§ Lib. xxxii. c. 4.

firmly perſuaded, that a man who is at the head of affairs is ſufficiently recompenſed by the glory derived from victory.

* He always led a very regular, auſtere life; and even in times of peace, and in the midſt of Carthage, when he was inveſted with the firſt dignity of the city, we are told that he never uſed to recline himſelf on a bed at meals, as was the cuſtom in thoſe ages, and drank but very little wine. So regular and uniform a life may ſerve as an illuſtrious example to our commanders, who often include, among the privileges of war, and the duty of officers, the keeping of ſplendid tables, and living luxuriouſly.

But notwithſtanding theſe eulogiums, I do not however pretend to juſtify entirely all the errors and defects with which Hannibal is charged. Though he poſſeſſed an aſſemblage of the moſt exalted qualities, it cannot be denied but that he had ſome little tincture of the vices of his country; and that it would be difficult to excuſe ſome actions and circumſtances of his life. † Polybius obſerves, that Hannibal was accuſed of avarice in Carthage, and of cruelty in Rome. He adds, on the ſame occaſion, that people were very much divided in opinion concerning him; and it would be no wonder, as he had made himſelf ſo many enemies in both cities, that they ſhould have drawn him in diſadvantageous colours. But Polybius is of opinion, that though it ſhould be taken for granted, that all the defects with which he is charged are true, we yet ought to conclude, that they were not ſo much owing to his nature and diſpoſition, as to the difficulties with which he was ſurrounded, in the courſe of ſo long and laborious a war, and to the complacency he was obliged to ſhow to the general officers, whoſe aſſiſtance he abſolutely wanted for the execution of his various enterprizes; and whom he was not always able to reſtrain, any more than he could the ſoldiers who fought under them.

* Cibi potioniſque, deſiderio naturali, non voluptate, modus finitus. Liv. l. xxi. n. 4.

Conſtat Annibalem nec tum cum Romano tonantem bello Italia contremuit, nec cum reverſus Carthaginem ſummum imperium tenuit, aut cubantem cœnaſſe, aut plus quam ſextario vini indulſiſſe. Juſtin. l. xxxii. c. 4.

† Excerpt. e Polyb. p. 34 & 37.

SECTION

SECTION II.

DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE CARTHAGINIANS AND MASINISSA KING OF NUMIDIA.

Among the conditions of the peace granted to the Carthaginians, there was one which imported, that they ſhould reſtore to Maſiniſſa all the territories and cities he poſſeſſed before the war; and further, Scipio, to reward the zeal and fidelity which that monarch had ſhown with regard to the Romans, had added to his dominions thoſe of Syphax. This preſently afterwards gave riſe to diſputes and quarrels between the Carthaginians and Numidians.

Theſe two princes, Syphax and Maſiniſſa, were both kings in Numidia, but reigned in different parts of it. The ſubjects of Syphax were called Maſæſuli, and their capital was Cirtha. Thoſe of Maſiniſſa were the Maſſyli: but both theſe nations are better known by the name of Numidians, which was common to them. Their principal ſtrength conſiſted in their cavalry. They always rode without ſaddles, and ſome even without bridles, whence * Virgil called them *Numidæ infræni.*

† In the beginning of the ſecond Punic war, Syphax ſiding with the Romans, Gala, the father of Maſiniſſa, to check the career of ſo powerful a neighbour, thought it his intereſt to join the Carthaginians, and accordingly ſent out againſt Syphax a powerful army under the conduct of his ſon, at that time but 17 years of age. Syphax, being overcome in a battle, in which it is ſaid he loſt 30,000 men, eſcaped into Mauritania. However, the face of things was afterwards greatly changed.

‡ Maſiniſſa, after his father's death, was often reduced to the brink of ruin; being drove from his kingdom by an uſurper; purſued warmly by Syphax; in danger every inſtant of falling into the hands of his enemies; deſtitute of forces, money, and almoſt all things. He was at that time in alliance with the Romans, and the friend of Scipio, with whom he had an interview in Spain. His misfortunes would not permit him to bring great ſuccours to that general. When Lælius arrived in Africa, Maſiniſſa joined him with a few horſe, and from that time was attached inviolably to the Roman intereſt. § Syphax, on the contrary, having married the famous Sophoniſba, daughter of Aſdrubal, went over to the Carthaginians.

* Æn. l. iv. ver. 41.
† Liv. xxiv. n. 48, 49.
‡ Ibid. l. xxix. n. 29—34.
§ Ibid. l. xxix. n. 23.

*The fate of these two princes was now changed once for all. Syphax lost a great battle, and was taken alive by the enemy. Masiniſſa, the victor, beſieged Cirtha, his capital, and took it. But he met with a greater danger in that city than he had faced in the field; and this was Sophoniſba, whoſe charms and endearments he was unable to reſiſt. To ſecure this princeſs to himſelf, he married her; but a few days after, he was obliged to ſend her a doſe of poiſon, as her nuptial preſent; this being the only way left him to keep his promiſe with his queen, and preſerve her from the power of the Romans.

This was a conſiderable error in itſelf, and which muſt neceſſarily diſoblige a nation that was ſo jealous of its authority: But this young prince repaired it glorioufly, by the ſignal ſervices he afterwards did Scipio. †We obſerved, that after the defeat and capture of Syphax, the dominions of this prince were beſtowed upon him; and that the Carthaginians were forced to reſtore all he poſſeſſed before. This gave riſe to the diviſions we are now going to relate.

‡ A territory ſituated towards the ſea-ſide, near the leſſer Syrtis, was the ſubject of thoſe conteſts. The country was very rich, and the ſoil extremely fruitful, a proof of which is, that the city of Leptis only, which belonged to that territory, paid daily a talent to the Carthaginians, by way of tribute. Maſiniſſa had ſeized part of this territory. Each ſide diſpatched deputies to Rome, to plead the cauſe of their ſuperiors before the ſenate. This aſſembly thought proper to ſend Scipio Africanus, with two other commiſſioners, to examine the controverſy upon the ſpot. However, they returned without coming to any reſolution, and left the buſineſs in the ſame uncertain ſtate in which they had found it. Poſſibly they had acted in this manner by order of the ſenate, and had received private inſtructions to favour Maſiniſſa, who was then poſſeſſed of the diſtrict in queſtion.

§ Ten years after, new commiſſioners having been appointed to examine the ſame affair, they acted as the former had done, and left the whole undetermined.

‖ After the like diſtance of time, the Carthaginians again brought their complaint to the ſenate, but with greater importunity than before. They repreſented, that beſide the lands at firſt conteſted, Maſiniſſa had during the two preceding years,

* Liv. l. xxx. n. 11, 12. † Idem, l. xxx. n. 44.
‡ Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 62.
§ A. M. 3823. A. Rom. 567. Idem, l. xl. n. 17.
‖ A. M. 3833. A. Rom. 577. Idem, l. xliii. n. 23, 24.

diſpoſſeſſed

diſpoſſeſſed them of upwards of ſeventy towns and caſtles. That their hands were bound up by the article of the laſt treaty, which forbade their making war upon any of the allies of the Romans; that they could no longer bear the inſolence, the avarice, and cruelty of that prince: That they were deputed to Rome with three requeſts, which they deſired might be immediately complied with, viz. either to get orders to have the affair examined and decided by the ſenate; or, ſecondly, that they might be permitted to repel force by force, and defend themſelves by arms; or, laſtly, that, if favour was to prevail over juſtice, they then entreated the Romans to ſpecify, once for all, which of the Carthaginian lands they were deſirous ſhould be veſted in Maſiniſſa, that they, by this means, might hereafter know what they had to depend on; and that the Roman people would have ſome regard to them, at a time that this prince ſet no other bounds to his pretenſions but his inſatiable avarice. The deputies concluded with beſeeching the Romans, that if the Carthaginians had been guilty of any crimes, with regard to them, ſince the concluſion of the laſt peace, that they themſelves would puniſh them for it; and not give them up to the wild caprice of a prince, by whom their liberties were made precarious, and their lives inſupportable. After ending their ſpeech, being pierced with grief, they fell proſtrate upon the earth and burſt into tears; a ſpectacle that moved all who were preſent to compaſſion, and raiſed a violent hatred againſt Maſiniſſa. Guluſſa, his ſon, who was then preſent, being aſked what he had to reply, he anſwered, that his father had not given him any inſtructions, not knowing that any thing would be laid to his charge. He only deſired the ſenate to reflect, that the circumſtance which drew all this hatred upon him from the Carthaginians, was, the inviolable fidelity with which he had always been attached to them. The ſenate, after hearing both ſides, anſwered, that they were inclined to do juſtice to that party to whom it was due: that Guluſſa ſhould ſet out immediately with their orders to his father, who was thereby commanded to ſend deputies with thoſe of Carthage: that they would do all that lay in their power to ſerve him, but not to the prejudice of the Carthaginians: that it was but juſt the ancient limits ſhould be preſerved; and that it was far from being the intention of the Romans, to have the Carthaginians diſpoſſeſſed, during the peace, of thoſe territories and cities which had been left them by the treaty. The deputies of both powers were then diſmiſſed with the uſual preſents.

But

*But all these assurances were but mere words. It is plain that the Romans did not once endeavour to satisfy the Carthaginians, or do them the least justice; and that they spun out the business, on purpose to give Masiniſſa an opportunity to establish himself in his usurpation, and weaken his enemies.

†A new deputation was sent to examine the affair upon the spot, and Cato was one of the commissioners. On their arrival, they asked the parties if they were willing to abide by their determination. Masiniſſa readily complied. The Carthaginians answered, that they had a fixed rule to which they adhered, and that this was the treaty which had been concluded by Scipio, and desired that their cause might be examined with all possible rigour. They therefore could not come to any decision. The deputies visited all the country, and found it in a very good condition, especially the city of Carthage: and they were surprised to see it, after being involved in such a calamity, again raised to so exalted a pitch of power and grandeur. The senate was told of this, immediately on the return of the deputies, and declared Rome could never be in safety, so long as Carthage should subsist. From this time, whatever affair was debated in the senate, Cato always added the following words to his opinion, "I conclude that Carthage ought to "be destroyed." This grave senator did not give himself the trouble to prove, that bare jealousy of the growing power of a neighbouring state, is a warrant sufficient for destroying a city contrary to the faith of treaties. But Scipio Nasica was of opinion, that the ruin of this city would draw after it that of their commonwealth; because that the Romans, having then no rival to fear, would quit the ancient severity of their manners, and abandon themselves to luxury and pleasures, the never-failing subverters of the most flourishing empires.

‡In the mean time divisions broke out in Carthage. The popular faction, being now become superior to that of the grandees and senators, sent 40 citizens into banishment, and bound the people by an oath, never to suffer the least mention to be made of recalling those exiles. They withdrew to the court of Masiniſſa, who dispatched Guluſſa and Micipsa, his two sons, to Carthage, to solicit their return. However, the gates of the city were shut against them, and one of them was closely pursued by Hamilcar, one of the generals of the republic. This gave occasion to a new war, and accordingly armies

* Polyb. p. 951.
† A. M. 3848. A. Rom. 592. App. de bell. Pun. p. 37.
‡ App. p. 38.

were

were levied on both sides. A battle was fought; and the younger Scipio, who afterwards ruined Carthage, was spectator of it. He had been sent from Lucullus in Spain, under whom Scipio then fought, to Masinissa, to desire some elephants from that monarch. During the whole engagement, he stood upon a neighbouring hill; and was surprised to see Masinissa, then 88 years of age, mounted, agreeably to the custom of his country, on a horse without a saddle; flying from rank to rank like a young officer, and sustaining the most arduous toils. The fight was very obstinate, and continued all day, but at last the Carthaginians gave way. Scipio used to say afterwards, that he had been present at many battles, but at none with so much pleasure as this; having never before beheld so formidable an army engage, without any danger or trouble to himself. And being very conversant in the writings of Homer, he added, that, till his time, there were but two more who had been spectators of such an action, *viz.* Jupiter from mount Ida, and Neptune from Samothrace, when the Greeks and Trojans fought before Troy. I know not whether the fight of 100,000 men (for so many there were) butchering one another, can administer a real pleasure; or whether such a pleasure is consistent with the sentiments of humanity, so natural to mankind.

* The Carthaginians, after the battle was over, entreated Scipio to terminate their contests with Masinissa. Accordingly he heard both parties, and the Carthaginians consented to yield up the territory of Emporium †, which had been the first cause of their division; to pay Masinissa 200 talents of silver down, and 800 more, at such times as should be agreed. But Masinissa insisting on the return of the exiles, they did not come to any decision. Scipio, after having paid his compliments, and returned thanks to Masinissa, set out with the elephants, for which he had been sent.

‡ The king, immediately after the battle was over, had

* App. de bell. Pun. p. 40.

† The Emporium, or Emporia, was a country of Africa, on the Lesser Syrtis, in which Leptis stood. No part of the Carthaginian dominions was more fruitful than this. Polybius, l. 1. says, that the revenue that arose from this place, was so considerable, that all their hopes were almost founded on it, ἐν αὐτῇ, *viz.* their revenues from Emporia, εἶχον τὰς μεγίστας ἐλπίδας. To this was owing their care and state-jealousy above mentioned, lest the Romans should sail beyond the Fair Promontory, that lay before Carthage, and become acquainted with a country, which might induce them to attempt the conquest of it.

‡ App. de bell. Pun. p. 40.

blocked

blocked up the enemy's camp, which was pitched upon a hill, whither neither troops nor proviſions could come to them. During this interval, there arrived deputies from Rome, with orders from the ſenate to decide the quarrel, in caſe the king ſhould be defeated; otherwiſe, to leave it undetermined, and to give the king the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the continuation of their friendſhip; and this they did. In the mean time, the famine daily increaſed in the enemy's camp, which being heightened by the plague, occaſioned a new calamity, and made dreadful havoc. Being now reduced to the laſt extremity, they ſurrendered to Maſiniſſa, promiſing to deliver up the deſerters, to pay him 5000 talents of ſilver in 50 years, and reſtore the exiles, notwithſtanding their oaths to the contrary. They all ſubmitted to the ignominious ceremony of paſſing under the yoke *, and were diſmiſſed with only one ſuit of clothes for each. Guluſſa, to ſatiate his vengeance for the ill treatment, as we before obſerved, he had met with, ſent out againſt them a body of cavalry, whom, from their great weakneſs, they could neither eſcape nor reſiſt. So that of 58,000 men, very few returned to Carthage.

THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.

† The third Punic war, which was leſs conſiderable than either of the former, with regard to the number and greatneſs of the battles, and its continuance, which was only four years, was ſtill more remarkable with reſpect to the ſucceſs and event of it, as it ended in the total ruin and deſtruction of Carthage.

‡ The inhabitants of it, from their laſt defeat, knew what they might naturally fear from the Romans, from whom they had always met with the moſt rigorous treatment after they had addreſſed them upon their diſputes with Maſiniſſa. To prevent the conſequences of it, the Carthaginians, by a decree of their ſenate, impeached Aſdrubal, general of the army, and Carthalo, commander § of the auxiliary forces, as guilty of high-treaſon, for being the authors of the war againſt the king

* Ils furent tous paſſés ſous le joug: Sub jugum miſſi; a kind of gallows, made by two forked ſticks, ſtanding upright, was erected, and a ſpear laid acroſs, under which vanquiſhed enemies were obliged to paſs. Feſtus.

† A. M. 3855. A. Carth. 697. A. Rom. 599. Ant. J. C. 149.

‡ Appian. p. 41, 42.

§ The foreign forces were commanded by leaders of their reſpective nations, who were all under the command of a Carthaginian officer, called by Appian Βοήθαρχος.

of

of Numidia. They ſent a deputation to Rome, to inquire what opinion that republic entertained of their late proceedings, and what was deſired of them. The deputies were coldly anſwered, that it was the buſineſs of the ſenate and people of Carthage to know, what ſatisfaction was due to the Romans. * A ſecond deputation bringing them no clearer anſwer, they fell into the greateſt dejection; and being ſeized with the ſtrongeſt terrors, upon recollecting their paſt ſufferings, they fancied the enemy was already at their gates, and imagined to themſelves all the diſmal conſequences of a long ſiege, and of a city taken ſword in hand.

† In the mean time, the ſenate debated at Rome on the meaſures it would be proper for them to take; and the diſputes between Cato and Scipio Naſica, who were of a quite different opinion on this ſubject, were renewed. The former, on his return from Africa, had declared in the ſtrongeſt terms, that he had not found Carthage exhauſted of men or money, nor in that weak and humble ſtate, as the Romans ſuppoſed it to be; but, on the contrary, that it was crowded with vigorous young men, abounded with immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver, and prodigious magazines of arms and all warlike ſtores; and was ſo haughty and confident on account of this force, that their hopes and ambition had no bounds. It is further ſaid, that after he had ended his ſpeech, he threw, out of the lappet of his robe, in the midſt of the ſenate, ſome African figs; and, as the ſenators admired their beauty and ſize; "‡ Know," ſays he, "that it is but three days ſince theſe "figs were gathered. Such is the diſtance between the ene"my and us."

§ Cato and Naſica had each of them their reaſons for voting as they did. Naſica, obſerving that the people roſe to ſuch a height of inſolence, as threw them into exceſſes of every kind; that their proſperity had ſwelled them with a pride which the ſenate itſelf was not able to check; and that their power was become ſo enormous, that they were able to draw the city, by force, into every mad deſign they might undertake; Naſica, I ſay, obſerving this, was deſirous that they ſhould continue in fear of Carthage, in order that this might ſerve as a curb to reſtrain their audacious conduct. For it was his opinion, that the Carthaginians were too weak to ſubdue the Romans; and, at the ſame time, ſo powerful, that it was not for the intereſt of the Romans, to conſider them in a con-

* Plut. in vit. Cat. p. 352.
† Ib. p. 352.
‡ Plin. l. xv. c. 18.
§ Plut. ibid. in vita Cat.

temptible

temptible light. With regard to Cato, he thought, that as his countrymen were become haughty and insolent by success, and plunged headlong into dissoluteness of every kind, nothing could be more dangerous, than for it to have a rival city (to whom the Romans were odious); a city that till now had been powerful, but was become, even by its misfortunes, more wise and provident than ever; and therefore that it would be safe, to remove the fears of the inhabitants entirely with regard to a foreign power, since they had, within their own walls, all the opportunities of indulging themselves in excesses of every kind.

To lay aside, for one instant, the laws of equity, I leave the reader to determine, which of these two great men reasoned most justly, according to the maxims of sound policy, and the true interest of a state. One undoubted circumstance is, that all historians have observed, that there was a sensible change in the conduct and government of the Romans, immediately after the ruin of Carthage *: that vice no longer made its way into Rome with a timorous pace, and as it were by stealth, but appeared barefaced, and seized, with astonishing rapidity, all orders of the republic: that senators, plebeians, in a word, all conditions abandoned themselves to luxury and voluptuousness, without having the least regard to, or sense of decency, which occasioned, as it must necessarily, the ruin of the state. "The "first Scipio †," says Paterculus speaking of the Romans, "had laid the foundations of their future grandeur; and the "last, by his conquests, had opened a door to all manner of "luxury and dissoluteness. For after Carthage, which obliged "Rome to stand for ever on its guard, by disputing empire with "that city, had been totally destroyed, the depravity of man-"ners was no longer slow in its progress, but swelled at once "into the utmost excess of corruption."

‡ Be this as it will, the senate resolved to declare war against

* Ubi Carthago, et æmula imperii Romani ab stirpe interiit, Fortuna sævire ac miscere omnia cœpit. Sallust in bell. Catalin.

Ante Carthaginem deletam populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se Remp. tractabant. Metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi formido illa mentibus decessit, illicet ea, quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. Idem in bello Jugurthino.

† Potentiæ Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriæ posterior aperuit. Quippe remoto Carthaginis metu, sublataque imperii æmula, non gradu sed præcipiti cursu a virtute desitum, ad vitia transcursum. Vel. Paterc. l. ii. c. 1.

‡ App. p. 42.

the

the Carthaginians; and the reasons or pretences urged for it were, their keeping up ships, contrary to the tenor of treaties; their sending an army out of their territories, against a prince who was in alliance with Rome, and whose son they treated ill, at the time he was accompanied by a Roman ambassador.

*An event, that chance occasioned very fortunately, at the time that the senate of Rome was debating on the affair of Carthage, contributed, doubtless, very much to make them take that resolution. This was the arrival of deputies from Utica, who came to surrender up themselves, their effects, their lands, and their city, into the hands of the Romans. Nothing could have happened more seasonably. Utica was the second city of Africa, vastly rich, and had an equally spacious and commodious port; it stood within 60 furlongs of Carthage, so that it might serve as a place of arms in the attack of that city. The Romans now hesitated no longer, but proclaimed war. M. Manilius and L. Marcius Censorinus, the two consuls, were desired to set out as soon as possible. They had secret orders from the senate, not to end the war, but by the destruction of Carthage. The consuls immediately left Rome, and stopped at Lilybæum in Sicily. They had a considerable fleet, on board of which were 80,000 foot, and about 4000 horse.

†The Carthaginians were not yet acquainted with the resolutions which had been taken at Rome. The answer brought back by their deputies had only increased their fears, viz. "It was the business of the Carthaginians to consider what "satisfaction was due to them‡." This made them not know what course to take. At last, they sent new deputies, whom they invested with full powers to act as they should see fitting, and even (what the former wars could never make them stoop to) to declare, that the Carthaginians gave up themselves, and all they possessed, to the will and pleasure of the Romans. This, according to the import of the clause, *se suaque eorum arbitrio permittere*, was submitting themselves, without reserve, to the Romans, and becoming their vassals. Nevertheless, they did not expect any great success from this condescension, though so very mortifying: because, as the Uticans had been before-hand with them on that occasion, this had deprived them of the merit of a ready and voluntary submission.

The deputies, on their arrival at Rome, were informed that

* A. M. 3856. A. Rom. 600. App. de bell. Pun. p. 42.
† Polyb. excerpt. legat. p. 972. ‡ To the Romans.

war had been proclaimed, and that the army was ſet out. The Romans had diſpatched a courier to Carthage, with the decree of the ſenate, and to inform that city, that the Roman fleet was ſailed. The deputies had therefore no time for deliberation, but delivered up themſelves, and all they poſſeſſed, to the Romans. In conſequence of this behaviour, they were anſwered, that ſince they had at laſt taken a right ſtep, the ſenate granted them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and all their territories, and other poſſeſſions, whether public or private, provided that, within the ſpace of 30 days, they ſhould ſend, as hoſtages to Lilybæum, 300 young Carthaginians of the firſt diſtinction, and comply with the orders of the conſuls. This laſt condition filled them with inexpreſſible anxiety: but the concern they were under, would not allow them to make the leaſt reply, or to demand an explication; nor indeed would it have been to any purpoſe. They therefore ſet out for Carthage, and there gave an account of their embaſſy.

*All the articles of the treaty were extremely ſevere with regard to the Carthaginians; but the ſilence of the Romans, with reſpect to the cities, of which no notice was taken in the conceſſions which that people was willing to make, perplexed them exceedingly. But all they had to do was to obey. After the many former and recent loſſes the Carthaginians had ſuſtained, they were by no means in a condition to reſiſt ſuch an enemy, ſince they had not been able to oppoſe Maſiniſſa. Troops, proviſions, ſhips, allies, in a word, every thing was wanting, and hope and vigour more than all the reſt.

They did not think it proper to wait till the 30 days which had been allowed them were expired, but immediately ſent their hoſtages, in order to ſoften the enemy by the readineſs of their obedience, though they durſt not flatter themſelves with the hopes of meeting with favour on this occaſion. Theſe hoſtages were in a manner the flower, and the only hopes of the nobleſt families of Carthage. No ſpectacle was ever more moving; nothing was now heard but cries, nothing ſeen but tears, and all places echoed with groans and lamentations. But, above all, the unhappy mothers, quite bathed in tears, tore their diſhevelled hair, beat their breaſts, and, as if grief and deſpair had diſtracted them, they yelled in ſuch a manner, as might have moved the moſt ſavage breaſts to compaſſion. But the ſcene was much more mournful, when the fatal moment of

* Polyb. excerpt. legat. p. 972.

their

their ſeparation was come; when, after having accompanied their dear children to the ſhip, they bid them a long, laſt farewell, perſuaded that they ſhould never ſee them more, wept a flood of tears over them, embraced them with the utmoſt fondneſs, claſped them eagerly in their arms, could not be prevailed to part with them, till they were forced away, which was more grievous and afflicting than if their hearts had been torn out of their breaſts. The hoſtages being arrived in Sicily, were carried from thence to Rome; and the conſuls told the deputies, that when they ſhould arrive at Utica, they would acquaint them with the orders of the republic.

* In ſuch a ſituation of affairs, nothing can be more grievous than a ſtate of uncertainty, which, without deſcending to particulars, images to the mind the blackeſt ſcenes of miſery. As ſoon as it was known, that the fleet was arrived at Utica, the deputies repaired to the Roman camp; ſignifying, that they were come in the name of their republic, in order to receive the commands which they were ready to obey. The conſul, after praiſing their good diſpoſition and compliance, commanded them to deliver up to him, without fraud or delay, all their arms. This they conſented to, but beſought him to reflect on the ſad condition to which he was reducing them, in the time that Aſdrubal, whoſe quarrel againſt them was owing to no other cauſe but their perfect ſubmiſſion to the orders of the Romans, was advanced almoſt to their gates, with an army of 20,000 men. The anſwer returned them was, that the Romans would ſet that matter right.

† This order was immediately put in execution. There arrived in the camp, a long train of waggons, loaded with all the preparations of war, taken out of Carthage; 200,000 complete ſets of armour, a numberleſs multitude of darts and javelins, with 2000 engines for ſhooting darts and ſtones‡. Then followed the deputies of Carthage, accompanied by the moſt venerable ſenators and prieſts, who came purpoſely to try to move the Romans to compaſſion in this critical moment, when their ſentence was going to be pronounced, and their fate would be irreverſible. Cenſorinus, the conſul (for it was he who ſpoke all this time), roſe up for a moment at their coming, and expreſſed ſome kindneſs and affection for them; but ſuddenly aſſuming a grave and ſevere countenance: "I can-"not," ſays he, "but commend the readineſs with which

* Polyb. p. 975. Appian. p. 44—46.

† Appian. p. 46. ‡ Baliſtæ, or Catapultæ.

" you execute the orders of the ſenate. They have command-
" ed me to tell you, that it is their abſolute will and pleaſure
" that you depart out of Carthage, which they have reſolved
" to deſtroy; and that you remove into any other part of your
" dominions, as you ſhall think proper, provided it be at the
" diſtance of 80 ſtadia * from the ſea."

† The inſtant the conſul had pronounced this fulminating decree, nothing was heard among the Carthaginians but lamentable ſhrieks and howlings. Being now in a manner thunderſtruck, they neither knew where they were, nor what they did; but rolled themſelves in the duſt, tearing their cloaths, and unable to vent their grief any otherwiſe, but by broken ſighs and deep groans. Being afterwards a little recovered, they lifted up their hands with the air of ſuppliants, one moment towards the gods, and the next towards the Romans, imploring their mercy and juſtice with regard to a people, who would ſoon be reduced to the extremes of deſpair. But as both the gods and men were deaf to their fervent prayers, they ſoon changed them into reproaches and imprecations; bidding the Romans call to mind, that there were ſuch beings as avenging deities, whoſe ſevere eyes were for ever open on guilt and treachery. The Romans themſelves could not refrain from tears at ſo moving a ſpectacle, but their reſolution was fixed. The deputies could not even prevail ſo far, as to get the execution of this order ſuſpended till they ſhould have an opportunity of preſenting themſelves again before the ſenate, if poſſible, to get it revoked. They were forced to ſet out immediately, and carry the anſwer to Carthage.

‡ The people waited for their return with ſuch an impatience and terror, as words could never expreſs. It was ſcarce poſſible for them to break through the crowd, that flocked round them, to hear the anſwer, which was but too ſtrongly painted in their faces. When they were come into the ſenate, and had declared the barbarous orders of the Romans, a general ſhriek informed the people of their too lamentable fate; and, from that inſtant, nothing was ſeen and heard in every part of the city, but howling and deſpair, madneſs and fury.

The reader will here give me leave to interrupt the courſe of the hiſtory for a moment, to reflect on the conduct of the Romans. It is a great pity that the fragment of Polybius, where an account is given of this deputation, ſhould end exactly in

* Four leagues, or twelve miles.

† Appian. p. 46—53.

‡ Ibid. p. 53, 54.

the

the moſt affecting part of this event. I ſhould ſet a much higher value on one ſhort reflection of ſo judicious an author, than on the long harangues which Appian aſcribes to the deputies and the conſul. I can never believe, that ſo rational, judicious, and juſt a man as Polybius, could have approved the proceedings of the Romans on the preſent occaſion. We do not here diſcover, in my opinion, any of the characteriſtics which diſtinguiſhed them anciently; that greatneſs of ſoul, that rectitude, that utter abhorrence of all mean artifices, frauds, and impoſtures, which, as is ſomewhere ſaid, formed no part of the Roman genius; *Minime Romanis artibus.* Why did not the Romans attack the Carthaginians by open force? Why ſhould they declare expreſsly in a treaty, a moſt ſolemn and ſacred thing, that they allowed them the full enjoyment of their liberties and laws, and underſtand at the ſame time certain private conditions, which proved the entire ruin of both? Why ſhould they conceal, under the ſcandalous omiſſion of the word city in this treaty, the black deſign of deſtroying Carthage; as if, beneath the cover of ſuch an equivocation, they might deſtroy it with juſtice? In fine, why did the Romans not make their laſt declaration, till after they had extorted from the Carthaginians, at different times, their hoſtages and arms; that is, till they had abſolutely rendered them incapable of diſobeying their moſt arbitrary commands? Is it not manifeſt, that Carthage, notwithſtanding all its defeats and loſſes, though it was weakened and almoſt exhauſted, was ſtill a terror to the Romans, and that they were perſuaded, they were not able to conquer it by force of arms? It is very dangerous to be poſſeſſed of ſo much power, as may enable one to commit injuſtice with impunity, and with a proſpect of being a gainer by it. The experience of all ages ſhows, that ſtates ſeldom ſcruple to commit injuſtice, when they think it will conduce to their advantage.

* The noble character which Polybius gives of the Achæans, differs widely from what was practiſed here. Theſe people, ſays he, far from uſing artifice and deceit with regard to their allies, in order to enlarge their power; did not think themſelves allowed to employ them even againſt their enemies, conſidering only thoſe victories as ſolid and glorious, which were obtained ſword in hand, by dint of courage and bravery. He owns in the ſame place, that there then remained among the Romans, but very faint traces of the ancient generoſity of

* Polyb. l. xiii. p. 671, 672.

their anceſtors; and he thinks it incumbent on him, as he declares, to make this remark, in oppoſition to a maxim which was grown very common in his time, among perſons in the adminiſtration of governments, who imagined, that honeſty is inconſiſtent with good policy; and that it is impoſſible to ſucceed in the adminiſtration of ſtate affairs, either in war or peace, without uſing fraud and deceit on ſome occaſions.

* I now return to my ſubject. The conſuls made no great haſte to march againſt Carthage, not ſuſpecting they had reaſon to be under any apprehenſions from that city, as it was now diſarmed. However, the inhabitants took the opportunity of this delay, to put themſelves in a poſture of defence, being all unanimouſly reſolved not to quit the city. They appointed as general without the walls, Aſdrubal, who was at the head of 20,000 men; and to whom deputies were ſent accordingly, to entreat him to forget, for his country's ſake, the injuſtice which had been done him, from the dread they were under of the Romans. The command of the troops within the walls was given to another Aſdrubal, grandſon of Maſiniſſa. They then applied themſelves in making arms with incredible expedition. The temples, the palaces, the open markets and ſquares, were all changed into ſo many arſenals, where men and women worked day and night. Every day were made 140 ſhields, 300 ſwords, 500 pikes or javelins, 1000 arrows, and a great number of engines to diſcharge them; and, becauſe they wanted materials to make ropes, the women cut off their hair, and abundantly ſupplied their wants on this occaſion.

† Maſiniſſa was very much diſguſted at the Romans, becauſe, after he had extremely weakened the Carthaginians, they came and reaped the fruits of his victory, without acquainting him in any manner with their deſign; which circumſtance cauſed ſome coldneſs between them.

‡ During this interval, the conſuls were advancing towards the city, in order to beſiege it. As they expected nothing leſs than a vigorous reſiſtance, the incredible reſolution and courage of the beſieged filled them with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment. The Carthaginians were for ever making the boldeſt ſallies, in order to repulſe the beſiegers, to burn their engines, and haraſs their foragers. Cenſorinus attacked the city on one ſide, and Manilius on the other. Scipio, afterwards ſurnamed Africa-

* Appian. p. 55. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 833. † Appian. p. 55.
‡ Appian. p. 53—58.

nus,

nus, was then a tribune in the army, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the reſt of the officers, no leſs by his prudence than by his bravery. The conſul, under whom he fought, committed many overſights, by his refuſing to follow his advice. This young officer drew the troops from ſeveral dangers into which their imprudent leaders had plunged them. A renowned perſon, Phamæas by name, who was general of the enemy's cavalry, and continually haraſſed the foragers, did not dare ever to keep the field, when it was Scipio's turn to ſupport them; ſo capable was he to order his troops, and poſt himſelf to advantage. So great and univerſal a reputation excited ſome envy againſt him in the beginning: but as he behaved, in all reſpects, with the utmoſt modeſty and reſerve, that envy was ſoon changed into admiration; ſo that when the ſenate ſent deputies to the camp, to inquire into the ſtate of the ſiege, the whole army gave him unanimouſly the higheſt commendations, the ſoldiers, as well as officers, nay, the very generals, extolled the merit of young Scipio. So neceſſary is it for a man to ſoften, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, the ſplendor of his riſing glory by a ſweet and modeſt carriage, and not to excite the jealouſy of people, by a haughty and ſelf-ſufficient behaviour, as it naturally awakens pride in others, and makes even virtue itſelf odious!

*About the ſame time Maſiniſſa, finding his end approach, ſent to deſire a viſit from Scipio, in order that he might inveſt him with full powers to diſpoſe, as he ſhould ſee proper, of his kingdom and eſtate, in behalf of his children. But, on Scipio's arrival, he found that monarch dead. Maſiniſſa had commanded them, with his dying breath, to follow implicitly the directions of Scipio, whom he appointed to be a kind of father and guardian to them. I ſhall give no farther account here of the family and poſterity of Maſiniſſa, becauſe that would interrupt too much the hiſtory of Carthage.

†The high eſteem which Phamæas had entertained for Scipio, induced him to forſake the Carthaginians, and go over to the Romans: accordingly, he joined him with above 2000 horſe, and did great ſervice at the ſiege.

‡Calpurnius Piſo, the conſul, and L. Mancinus, his lieutenant, arrived in Africa in the beginning of the ſpring. Nothing remarkable was tranſacted during this campaign. The Romans were even defeated on ſeveral occaſions, and carried on

* A. M. 3857. A. Rom. 601. Appian. p. 63.
† Strabo, l. xvii. p. 65. ‡ Ibid. p. 66.

the

the ſiege of Carthage but ſlowly. The beſieged, on the contrary, had recovered their ſpirits; their troops were conſiderably increaſed, they daily got new allies; and even ſent an expreſs as far as Macedonia, to the counterfeit Philip*, who paſſed for the ſon of Perſeus, and was then engaged in a war with the Romans, to exhort him to carry it on with vigour, and promiſing to furniſh him with money and ſhips.

† This news occaſioned ſome uneaſineſs at Rome. People began to doubt the ſucceſs of a war, which grew daily more uncertain, and was more important than had at firſt been imagined. As much as they were diſſatisfied with the dilatorineſs of the generals, and exclaimed at their conduct, ſo much did they unanimouſly agree in applauding young Scipio, and extolling his rare and uncommon virtues. He was come to Rome, in order to ſtand candidate for the edileſhip. The inſtant he appeared in the aſſembly, his name, his countenance, his reputation, a general perſuaſion that he was deſigned by the gods to end the third Punic war, as the firſt Scipio, his grandfather by adoption, had terminated the ſecond; theſe ſeveral circumſtances made a very ſtrong impreſſion on the people; and, though it was contrary to law, and therefore oppoſed by the ancient men, inſtead of the edileſhip which he ſued for, the people, diſregarding for once the laws, conferred the conſulſhip upon him‡, and aſſigned him Africa for his province, without caſting lots for the provinces, as uſual, and as Druſus his colleague demanded.

§ As ſoon as Scipio had completed his recruits, he ſet out for Sicily, and arrived ſoon after in Utica. He came very ſeaſonably for Mancinus, Piſo's lieutenant, who had raſhly fixed himſelf in a poſt where he was ſurrounded by the enemy, and would have been cut in pieces, had not, that very morning, the new conſul, who, at his arrival, heard of the danger he was in, re-embarked his troops in the night, and ſailed with the utmoſt ſpeed to his aſſiſtance.

‖ Scipio's firſt care, after his arrival, was, to revive the diſcipline among the troops, which he found had been entirely neglected. There was not the leaſt regularity, ſubordination, or obedience. Nothing was attended to but rapine, feaſting, and diverſions. He drove from the camp all uſeleſs perſons, ſettled the quality of the proviſions he would have brought in by the ſutlers, and allowed of none but what were plain and

* Andriſcus.
† Strabo, l. xvii. p. 68.
‡ A. M. 3858. A. Rom. 602.
§ Appian. p. 99.
‖ Ib. p. 70.

fit

fit for ſoldiers, ſtudiouſly baniſhing all things of a dainty, luxurious kind.

After he had made theſe regulations, which coſt him but little time and pains, becauſe he himſelf firſt ſet the example, he was perſuaded that thoſe under him were ſoldiers, and thereupon he prepared to carry on the ſiege with vigour. Having ordered his troops to provide themſelves with axes, levers, and ſcaling-ladders, he led them, in the dead of the night, and without the leaſt noiſe, to a diſtrict of the city called Megara, when ordering them to give a ſudden and general ſhout, he attacked it with great vigour. The enemy, who did not expect to be attacked in the night, were at firſt in the utmoſt terror; however, they defended themſelves ſo courageouſly, that Scipio could not ſcale the walls: but perceiving a tower that was forſaken, and which ſtood without the city, very near the walls, he detached thither a party of intrepid ſoldiers, who, by the help of * pontons, got from the tower on the walls, and from thence into Megara, whoſe gates they broke down. Scipio entered it immediately after, and drove the enemy out of that poſt; who, terrified at this unexpected aſſault, and imagining that the whole city was taken, fled into the citadel; whither they were followed even by thoſe forces that were encamped without the city, who abandoned their camp to the Romans, and thought it neceſſary for them to fly to a place of ſecurity.

†Before I proceed further, it will be proper to give ſome account of the ſituation and dimenſions of Carthage, which, in the beginning of the war againſt the Romans, contained 700,000 inhabitants. It ſtood at the bottom of a gulf, ſurrounded with the ſea, and in the form of a peninſula, whoſe neck, that is, the iſthmus which joined it to the continent, was 25 ſtadia, or a league and a quarter in breadth. The peninſula was 360 ſtadia, or 18 leagues round. On the weſt ſide there projected from it a long neck of land, half a ſtadium, or 12 fathoms broad; which advancing into the ſea, divided it from a moraſs, and was fenced on all ſides with rocks and a ſingle wall. On the ſouth ſide, towards the continent, where ſtood the citadel called Byrſa, the city was ſurrounded with a triple wall, 30 cubits high, abſtracted from the parapets and towers, with which it was flanked all round at equal diſtances, each interval being 80 fathoms. Every tower was four ſtories high,

* A ſort of a moveable bridge.

† Appian. p. 56, 57. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 832.

and

and the walls but two; they were arched, and in the lower part were ſtalls large enough to hold 300 elephants, with their fodder, &c.; over theſe were ſtables for 4000 horſes, and lofts for their food. There likewiſe was room enough to lodge 20,000 foot, and 4000 horſe. In fine, all theſe were contained within the walls. The walls were weak and low in one place only, and that was a neglected angle, which began at the neck of land above mentioned, and extended as far as the harbours, which were on the weſt ſide. Two of theſe communicated with each other, and had but one entrance, 70 feet broad, ſhut up with chains. The firſt was appropriated for the merchants, and had ſeveral diſtinct habitations for the ſeamen; the ſecond, or inner harbour, was for the ſhips of war, in the midſt of which ſtood an iſland called Cothon, lined, as the harbour was, with large keys, in which were diſtinct receptacles * for ſheltering from the weather 220 ſhips; over theſe were magazines or ſtore-houſes, wherein was lodged whatever is neceſſary for arming and equipping fleets. The entrance into each of theſe receptacles was adorned with two marble pillars of the Ionic order: ſo that both the harbour and the iſland repreſented on each ſide two magnificent galleries. In this iſland was the admiral's palace, and as it ſtood oppoſite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence diſcover whatever was doing at ſea, though no one from thence could ſee what was tranſacting in the inward part of the harbour. The merchants, in like manner, had no proſpect of the men of war, the two ports being ſeparated by a double wall, each having its particular gate that led to the city, without paſſing through the other harbour. † So that Carthage may be divided into three parts: the harbour, which was double, and called ſometimes Cothon, from the little iſland of that name; the citadel, named Byrſa; the city, properly ſo called, where the inhabitants dwelt, which lay round the citadel, and was called Megara.

‡At day-break, Aſdrubal, § perceiving the ignominious defeat of his troops, in order that he might be revenged on the Romans, and, at the ſame time, deprive the inhabitants of all hopes of accommodation and pardon, brought all the Roman priſoners he had taken, upon the walls, in ſight of the whole army. There he put them to the moſt exquiſite tortures; putting out their eyes, cutting off their noſes, ears, and fingers;

* Νεωσοίκους, Strabo. † Boch. in Phal. p. 512. ‡ Appian. p. 72.

§ It was he who at firſt commanded without the city, but having cauſed the other Aſdrubal, Maſiniſſa's grandſon, to be put to death, he got the command of the troops within the walls.

tearing

tearing their ſkin to pieces with iron rakes or harrows, and then threw them headlong from the top of the battlements. So inhuman a treatment filled the Carthaginians with horror: However, he did not ſpare even them, but murdered many ſenators who had been ſo brave as to oppoſe his tyranny.

*Scipio, finding himſelf abſolute maſter of the Iſthmus, burnt the camp, which the enemy had deſerted, and built a new one for his troops. It was in a ſquare form, ſurrounded with large and deep intrenchments, and fenced with ſtrong paliſades. On the ſide which faced the Carthaginians, he built a wall 12 feet high, flanked at proper diſtances with towers and redoubts; and on the middle tower he erected a very high wooden fort, from whence could be ſeen whatever was doing in the city. This wall was equal to the whole breadth of the Iſthmus, that is, 25 ſtadia†. The enemy, who were within arrow-ſhot of it, employed their utmoſt efforts to put a ſtop to this work; but, as the whole army worked at it day and night without intermiſſion, it was finiſhed in 24 days. Scipio reaped a double advantage from this work: firſt, his forces were lodged more ſafely and commodiouſly than before: ſecondly, he cut off all proviſions from the beſieged, to whom none could be brought but by land; which diſtreſſed them exceedingly, both becauſe the ſea is frequently very tempeſtuous in that place, and becauſe the Roman fleet kept a ſtrict guard. This proved one of the chief cauſes of the famine which raged ſoon after in the city. Beſides, Aſdrubal diſtributed the corn that was brought only among the 30,000 men who ſerved under him, without regard to what became of the inhabitants.

‡To diſtreſs them ſtill more, by the want of proviſions, Scipio attempted to ſtop up the mouth of the haven, by a mole, beginning at the above-mentioned neck of land, which was near the harbour. The beſieged looked, at firſt, upon this attempt as ridiculous, and accordingly they inſulted the workmen: but, at laſt, ſeeing them make an aſtoniſhing progreſs every day, they began to be afraid, and to take ſuch meaſures as might, if poſſible, render the attempt unſucceſsful. Every one, to the women and children, fell to work, but ſo privately, that all Scipio could learn from the priſoners was, that they had heard a great noiſe in the harbour, but did not know the cauſe or occaſion of it. At laſt, all things being ready, the Carthaginians opened, on a ſudden, a new outlet, on the other ſide of the

* Appian. p. 73.

† Four miles and three quarters.

‡ Appian. p. 74.

haven,

haven, and appeared at ſea with a numerous fleet, which they had then built with the old materials found in their magazines. It is generally allowed, that had they attacked the Roman fleet directly, they muſt infallibly have taken it; becauſe, as no ſuch attempt was expected, and every man was otherwiſe employed, the Carthaginians would have found it without rowers, ſoldiers, or officers. But the ruin of Carthage, ſays the hiſtorian, was decreed. Having therefore only offered a kind of inſult or bravado to the Romans, they returned into the harbour.

* Two days after, they brought forward their ſhips, with a reſolution to fight in good earneſt, and found the enemy ready for them. This battle was to determine the fate of both parties. It laſted a long time, each exerting themſelves to the utmoſt; the one to ſave their country reduced to the laſt extremity, and the other to complete their victory. During the fight, the Carthaginian brigantines running along under the large Roman ſhips, broke to pieces ſometimes their ſterns, and at other times their rudders and oars; and, when briſkly attacked, retreated with ſurpriſing ſwiftneſs, and returned immediately to the charge. At laſt, after the two armies had fought with equal ſucceſs till ſun-ſet, the Carthagians thought proper to retire; not that they believed themſelves overcome, but in order to begin the fight again on the morrow. Part of their ſhips, not being able to run ſwiftly enough into the harbour, becauſe the mouth of it was too narrow, took ſhelter under a very ſpacious terrace, which had been thrown up againſt the walls to unload goods, on the ſide of which a ſmall rampart had been raiſed during this war, to prevent the enemy from poſſeſſing themſelves of it. Here the fight was again renewed with more vigour than ever, and laſted till late at night. The Carthaginians ſuffered very much, and the few ſhips of theirs which got off, ſailed for refuge to the city. Morning being come, Scipio attacked the terrace, and carried it, though with great difficulty; after which he poſted and fortified himſelf on it, and built a brick wall cloſe to thoſe of the city, and of the ſame height. When it was finiſhed, he commanded 4000 men to get on the top of it, and to diſcharge from it a perpetual ſhower of darts and arrows upon the enemy, which did great execution; becauſe, as the two walls were of equal height, there was ſcarce one dart without effect. Thus ended this campaign.

* Appian. p. 75.

During

*During the winter-quarters, Scipio endeavoured to overpower the enemy's troops without the city, who very much haraſſed the troops that brought his proviſions, and protected ſuch as were ſent to the beſieged. For this purpoſe he attacked a neighbouring fort, called Nepheris, where they uſed to ſhelter themſelves. In the laſt action, above 70,000 of the enemy, as well ſoldiers as peaſants, who had been inliſted, were cut to pieces; and the fort was carried with great difficulty, after ſuſtaining a ſiege of 22 days. The ſeizure of this fort was followed by the ſurrender of almoſt all the ſtrong-holds in Africa, and contributed very much to the taking of Carthage itſelf, into which, from that time, it was almoſt impoſſible to bring any proviſions.

†Early in the ſpring, Scipio attacked, at one and the ſame time, the harbour called Cothon, and the citadel. Having poſſeſſed himſelf of the wall which ſurrounded this port, he threw himſelf into the great ſquare of the city that was near it, from whence was an aſcent to the citadel, up three ſtreets, on each ſide of which were houſes, from the tops whereof a ſhower of darts were diſcharged upon the Romans, who were obliged, before they could advance farther, to force the houſes they came firſt to, and poſt themſelves in them, in order to diſlodge from thence the enemy who fought from the neighbouring houſes. The combat which was carried on from the tops, and in every part of the houſes, continued ſix days, during which a dreadful ſlaughter was made. To clear the ſtreets, and make way for the troops, the Romans dragged aſide, with hooks, the bodies of ſuch of the inhabitants as had been ſlain, or precipitated headlong from the houſes, and threw them into pits, the greateſt part of them being ſtill alive and panting. In this toil, which laſted ſix days and as many nights, the ſoldiers were relieved, from time to time, by freſh ones, without which they would have been quite ſpent. Scipio was the only perſon who did not take a wink of ſleep all this time; giving orders in all places, and ſcarce allowing himſelf leiſure to take the leaſt refreſhment.

‡There was ſtill reaſon to believe, that the ſiege would laſt much longer, and occaſion a great effuſion of blood. But on the ſeventh day, there appeared a company of men in a ſuppliant poſture and habit, who deſired no other conditions, but that the Romans would pleaſe to ſpare the lives of all thoſe

* Appian. p. 78. † A. M. 3859. A. Rom. 603. Appian. p. 79.
‡ Appian. p. 81.

who ſhould be willing to leave the citadel; which requeſt was granted them, only the deſerters were excepted. Accordingly, there came out 50,000 men and women, who were ſent into the fields under a ſtrong guard. The deſerters, who were about 900, finding they would not be allowed quarter, fortified themſelves in the temple of Æſculapius, with Aſdrubal, his wife, and two children; where, though their number was but ſmall, they might have held out a long time, becauſe the temple ſtood on a very high hill, upon rocks, to which the aſcent was by 60 ſteps: but at laſt, exhauſted by hunger and watchings, oppreſſed with fear, and ſeeing their deſtruction at hand, they loſt all patience; when, abandoning the lower part of the temple, they retired to the uppermoſt ſtory, and reſolved not to quit it but with their lives.

In the mean time, Aſdrubal, being deſirous of ſaving his own life, came down privately to Scipio, carrying an olive-branch in his hand, and threw himſelf at his feet. Scipio ſhowed him immediately to the deſerters, who, tranſported with rage and fury at the ſight, vented millions of imprecations againſt him, and ſet fire to the temple. Whilſt it was lighting, we are told, that Aſdrubal's wife, dreſſing herſelf as ſplendidly as poſſible, and placing herſelf with her two children in ſight of Scipio, addreſſed him with a loud voice: "I call not down," ſays ſhe, "curſes on thy head, O Roman; for thou only takeſt "the privilege allowed by the laws of war: but may the gods "of Carthage, and thou in concert with them, puniſh, accord-"ing to his deſerts, the falſe wretch who has betrayed his "country, his gods, his wife, his children!" Then directing herſelf to Aſdrubal, "Perfidious wretch!" ſays ſhe, "thou "baſeſt of creatures! this fire will preſently conſume both me "and my children; but as to thee, too ſhameful general of "Carthage, go—adorn the gay triumph of thy conqueror—"ſuffer in the ſight of all Rome, the tortures thou ſo juſtly "deſerveſt!" She had no ſooner pronounced theſe words, but ſeizing her children, ſhe cut their throats, threw them into the flames, and afterwards ruſhed into them herſelf; in which ſhe was imitated by all the deſerters.

* With regard to Scipio, when he ſaw this famous city, which had flouriſhed 700 years, and might have been compared to the greateſt empires, on account of the extent of its dominions both by ſea and land, its mighty armies, its fleets, its elephants, and riches; and that the Carthaginians were even ſu-

* Appian. p. 82.

perior

perior to other nations, by their courage and greatneſs of ſoul, as, notwithſtanding their being deprived of arms and ſhips, they had ſuſtained, for three whole years, all the hardſhips and calamities of a long ſiege; ſeeing, I ſay, this city entirely ruined, hiſtorians relate, that he could not refuſe his tears to the unhappy fate of Carthage. He reflected, that cities, nations, and empires, are liable to revolutions no leſs than particular men; that the like ſad fate had befallen Troy, anciently ſo powerful; and, in later times, the Aſſyrians, Medes, and Perſians, whoſe dominions were once of ſo great an extent; and laſtly, the Macedonians, whoſe empire had been ſo glorious throughout the world. Full of theſe mournful ideas, he repeated the following verſes of Homer:

Ἔσσεται ἦμαρ, ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἰρὴ,
Καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐυμμελίω Πριάμοιο. A. Δ'. 164, 165.

The day ſhall come, that great avenging day,
Which Troy's proud glories in the duſt ſhall lay,
When Priam's pow'rs and Priam's ſelf ſhall fall,
And one prodigious ruin ſwallow all. POPE.

thereby denouncing the future deſtiny of Rome, as he himſelf confeſſed to Polybius, who deſired Scipio to explain himſelf on that occaſion.

Had the truth enlightened his ſoul, he would have diſcovered what we are taught in the ſcriptures, that "*becauſe of "unrighteous dealings, injuries, and riches got by deceit, a "kingdom is tranſlated from one people to another." Carthage is deſtroyed, becauſe its avarice, perfidiouſneſs, and cruelty, have attained their utmoſt height. The like fate will attend Rome, when its luxury, ambition, pride, and unjuſt uſurpations, concealed beneath a ſpecious and deluſive ſhow of juſtice and virtue, ſhall have compelled the ſovereign Lord, the diſpoſer of empires, to give the univerſe an important leſſon in its fall.

†Carthage being taken in this manner, Scipio gave the plunder of it (the gold, ſilver, ſtatues, and other offerings which ſhould be found in the temples, excepted) to his ſoldiers for ſome days. He afterwards beſtowed ſeveral military rewards on them, as well as on the officers, two of whom had particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, *viz.* Tib. Gracchus, and Caius Fannius, who firſt ſcaled the walls. After this, adorning a very ſmall ſhip (an excellent ſailer) with the enemy's ſpoils, he ſent it to Rome with the news of the victory.

* Eccleſ. x. 8. † A. M. 3859. A. Carth. 701. A. Rom. 603. Ant. J. C. 145. Appian. p. 83.

* At the same time, he ordered the inhabitants of Sicily to come and take possession of the pictures and statues which the Carthaginians had plundered from them in the former wars. When he restored to the citizens of Agrigentum, Phalaris's famous bull †, he told them that this bull, which was, at one and the same time, a monument of the cruelty of their ancient kings, and of the lenity of their present sovereigns, ought to make them sensible, which would be most advantageous for them, to live under the yoke of Sicilians, or the government of the Romans.

Having exposed to sale part of the spoils of Carthage, he commanded, on the most severe penalties, his family not to take, or even buy any of them; so careful was he to remove from himself, and all belonging to him, the least suspicion of avarice.

‡ When the news of the taking of Carthage was brought to Rome, the people abandoned themselves to the most immoderate transports of joy, as if the public tranquillity had not been secured till that instant. They revolved in their minds, all the calamities which the Carthaginians had brought upon them, in Sicily, in Spain, and even in Italy, for 16 years together; during which, Hannibal had plundered 400 towns, destroyed 300,000 men, and reduced Rome itself to the utmost extremity. Amidst the remembrance of the past evils, the people in Rome would ask one another, whether it were really true that Carthage was in ashes. All ranks and degrees of men emulously strove who should show the greatest gratitude towards the gods; and the citizens were for many days employed wholly in solemn sacrifices, in public prayers, games, and spectacles.

§ After these religious duties were ended, the senate sent ten commissioners into Africa, to regulate, in conjunction with Scipio, the fate and condition of that country, in times to come. Their first care was, to demolish whatever was still remaining of Carthage ‖. Rome, though mistress of almost the

* Appian. p. 83.

† Quem thurum Scipio cum redderet Agrigentinis, dixisse dicitur, æquum esse illos cogitare utrum esset Siculis utilius, fulsine servire, an populo R. obtemperare; cum idem monumentum et domesticæ crudelitatis, et nostræ mansuetudinis haberent. Cicer. Verr. vi. n. 73.

‡ Appian. p. 83. § Ibid. p. 84.

‖ We may guess at the dimensions of this famous city, by what Florus says, *viz.* that it was 17 days on fire, before it could be all consumed. Quanta urbs deleta sit, ut de cæteris taceam, vel ignium mora probari potest:

the whole world, could not believe herſelf ſafe as long as even the name of Carthage was in being * : ſo true it is, that an inveterate hatred, fomented by long and bloody wars, laſts even beyond the time when all cauſe of fear is removed, and does not ceaſe, till the object that occaſions it is no more. Orders were given, in the name of the Romans, that it ſhould never be inhabited again; and dreadful imprecations were denounced againſt thoſe, who, contrary to this prohibition, ſhould attempt to rebuild any parts of it, eſpecially thoſe called Byrſa and Megara. In the mean time, every one who deſired it was admitted to ſee Carthage: Scipio being well pleaſed to have people view the ſad ruins of a city which had dared to contend with Rome for empire †. The commiſſioners decreed further, that thoſe cities which, during this war, had joined with the enemy, ſhould be all razed, and their territories be given to the Roman allies; they particularly made a grant to the citizens of Utica, of the whole country lying between Carthage and Hippo. All the reſt they made tributary, and reduced it into a Roman province, whither a prætor was ſent annually.

‡ All matters being thus ſettled, Scipio returned to Rome, where he made his entry in triumph. So magnificent a one had never been ſeen before; the whole exhibiting nothing but ſtatues, rare invaluable pictures, and other curioſities, which the Carthaginians had, for many years, been collecting, in other countries; not to mention the money carried into the public treaſury, that amounted to immenſe ſums.

§ Notwithſtanding the great precautions which were taken, to hinder Carthage from being ever rebuilt, in leſs than 30 years after, and even in Scipio's life-time, one of the Gracchi, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, undertook to found it anew, and conducted thither a colony conſiſting of 6000 citizens for that purpoſe. The ſenate, hearing that the workmen had been terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundations of the new city, would have ſuſpended the attempt; but the tribune, not

proteſt: Quippe per continuos decem & ſeptem dies vix potuit incendium extingui. Lib. ii. c. 15.

* Neque ſe Roma, jam terrarum orbe ſuperato, ſecuram ſperavit fore, ſi nomen uſquam maneret Carthaginis. Adeo odium certaminibus ortam, ultra metum durat, & ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante inviſum eſſe deſinit, quam eſſe deſiit. Vel. Paterc. l. i. c. 12.

† Ut ipſe locus eorum, qui cum hac urbe de imperio certarunt, veſtigia calamitatis oſtenderet. Cic. Agrar. ii. n. 50.

‡ Vel. Paterc. l. i. c. 12.

§ Appian. p. 85. Plut. in vit. Grach. p. 839.

being over-ſcrupu'ous in religious matters, carried on the work, notwithſtanding all theſe bad preſages, and finiſhed it in a few days. This was the firſt Roman colony that ever was ſent out of Italy.

It is probable, that only a kind of huts were built there, ſince we are told, that when Marius* retired hither, in his flight to Africa, he lived in a mean and poor condition amid the ruins of Carthage, conſoling himſelf by the ſight of ſo aſtoniſhing a ſpectacle; himſelf ſerving, in ſome meaſure, as a conſolation to that ill-fated city.

† Appian relates, that Julius Cæſar, after the death of Pompey, having croſſed into Africa, ſaw, in a dream, an army compoſed of a prodigious number of ſoldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called him; and that, ſtruck with the viſion, he writ down in his pocket-book the deſign which he formed on this occaſion, of rebuilding Carthage and Corinth; but that having been murdered ſoon after by the conſpirators, Auguſtus Cæſar, his adopted ſon, who found this memorandum among his papers, rebuilt Carthage near the ſpot where it ſtood formerly, in order that the imprecations which had been vented at the time of its deſtruction againſt thoſe who ſhould preſume to rebuild it might not fall upon him.

‡ I know not what foundation Appian has for this ſtory; but we read in Strabo, that Carthage and Corinth were rebuilt at the ſame time by Cæſar, to whom he gives the name of God, by which title, a little before §, he had plainly intended Julius Cæſar; and Plutarch ‖, in the life of that emperor, aſcribes expreſsly to him the eſtabliſhment of theſe two colonies; and obſerves, that one remarkable circumſtance in theſe two cities is, that as both had been taken and deſtroyed together, they likewiſe were rebuilt and repeopled at the ſame time. However this be, Strabo affirms, that, in his time, Carthage was as populous as any city in Africa; and it roſe to be the capital of Africa, under the ſucceeding emperors. It exiſted, for about 700 years after, in ſplendour, but at laſt was ſo completely deſtroyed by the Saracens, in the beginning of the ſeventh century, that neither its name, nor the leaſt footſteps of it, are known at this time in the country.

* Maius curſum in Africam direxit, inopemque vitam in tugurio ruinarum Carthaginienſium toleravit; cum Marius aſpiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alter alteri poſſent eſſe ſolatio. Vel. Paterc. l. ii. c. 19.

† Appian. p. 89. ‡ Ibid. l. xvii. p. 833. § Ibid. p. 83.
‖ Ibid. p. 733.

A DIGRESSION

A DIGRESSION ON THE MANNERS AND CHARACTER OF THE SECOND SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

Scipio, the deſtroyer of Carthage, was ſon to the famous Paulus Æmilius, who conquered Perſeus, the laſt king of Macedon, and conſequently grandſon to that Paulus, who loſt his life in the battle of Cannæ. He was adopted by the ſon of the great Scipio Africanus, and called Scipio Æmilianus; the names of the two families being ſo united, purſuant to the law of adoptions. Our * Scipio ſupported, with equal luſtre, the honour and dignity of both houſes, being poſſeſſed of all the exalted qualities of the ſword and gown. The whole tenor of his life, ſays an hiſtorian, whether with regard to his actions, his thoughts, or words, was conſpicuous for its great beauty and regularity. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly (a circumſtance ſeldom found at that time in perſons of the military profeſſion) by his exquiſite taſte for polite literature, and all the ſciences, as well as by the uncommon regard he ſhowed to learned men. It is univerſally known, that he was reported to be the author of Terence's comedies, the moſt polite and elegant writings of which the Romans could boaſt. We are told of Scipio †, that no man could blend more happily repoſe and action, nor employ his leiſure hours with greater delicacy and taſte: thus was he divided between arms and books, between the military labours of the camp, and the peaceful employment of the cabinet; in which he either exerciſed his body in toils of war, or his mind in the ſtudy of the ſciences. By this he ſhowed, that nothing does greater honour to a perſon of diſtinction, of what quality or profeſſion ſoever he be, than the adorning his ſoul with knowledge. Cicero, ſpeaking of Scipio, ſays, ‡ that he always had Xenophon's works in his hands, which are ſo famous for the ſolid and excellent inſtructions they contain both in regard to war and policy.

§ He owed this exquiſite taſte for polite learning and the

* Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paterniſque L. Pauli virtutibus ſimillimus, omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingeniique ac ſtudiorum eminentiſſimus ſeculi ſui, qui nihil in vita niſi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit, aut ſenſit. Vel. Paterc. l. i. c. 12.

† Neque enim quiſquam hoc Scipione elegantius intervalla negotiorum otio diſpunxit: Semperque aut belli aut pacis ſerviit artibus, ſemper inter arma ac ſtudia verſatus, aut corpus periculis, aut animum diſciplinis, exercuit. Vel. Paterc. l. i. c. 13.

‡ Africanus ſemper Socraticum Xenophontem in manibus habebat. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. ii. n. 62.

§ Plut. in vit. Æmil. Paul.

ſciences,

ſciences, to the excellent education which Paulus Æmilius beſtowed on his children. He had put them under the ableſt maſters in every art, and did not ſpare any coſt on that occaſion, though his circumſtances were very narrow: P. Æmilius himſelf was preſent at all their leſſons, as often as the affairs of government would permit; becoming, by this means, their chief preceptor.

* The ſtrict union between Polybius and Scipio finiſhed the exalted qualities, which, by the ſuperiority of his genius and diſpoſition, and the excellency of his education, were already the ſubject of admiration. Polybius, with a great number of Achaians, whoſe fidelity the Romans ſuſpected during the war with Perſeus, was detained in Rome, where his merit ſoon attracted the eyes, and made his converſation the deſire of all perſons of the higheſt quality in that city. Scipio, when ſcarce 18, devoted himſelf entirely to Polybius, and conſidered as the greateſt felicity of his life the opportunity he had of being inſtructed by ſo great a maſter, whoſe ſociety he preferred to all the vain and idle amuſements which are generally ſo eagerly purſued by young perſons.

Polybius's firſt care was, to inſpire Scipio with an averſion for thoſe equally dangerous and ignominious pleaſures, to which the Roman youth were ſo ſtrongly addicted; the greateſt part of them being already depraved and corrupted, by the luxury and licentiouſneſs which riches and new conqueſts had introduced in Rome. Scipio, during the firſt five years that he continued in ſo excellent a ſchool, made the greateſt improvement in it; and deſpiſing the levity and wantonneſs, as well as the pernicious examples of perſons of the ſame age with himſelf, he was looked upon, even at that time, as a ſhining model of diſcretion and wiſdom.

From hence the tranſition was eaſy and natural, to generoſity, to a noble diſregard of riches, and to a laudable uſe of them; all virtues ſo requiſite in perſons of illuſtrious birth, and which Scipio carried to the moſt exalted pitch, as appears from ſome inſtances of this kind related by Polybius, and highly worthy our admiration.

Æmilia †, wife of the firſt Scipio Africanus, and mother of him who had adopted the Scipio mentioned here by Polybius, had bequeathed, at her death, a great eſtate to the latter. This lady, beſides the diamonds and jewels which are worn by wo-

* Excerpt. e Polyb. p. 147—163.

† She was ſiſter of Paulus Æmilius, father of the ſecond Scipio Africanus.

men

men of her high rank, poſſeſſed a great number of gold and ſilver veſſels uſed in ſacrifices, together with ſeveral ſplendid equipages, and a conſiderable number of ſlaves of both ſexes; the whole ſuited to the auguſt houſe into which ſhe had married. At her death, Scipio made over all thoſe rich poſſeſſions to Papiria his mother, who having been divorced a conſiderable time before by Paulus Æmilius, and not being in circumſtances to ſupport the dignity of her birth, lived in great obſcurity, and never appeared in the aſſemblies or public ceremonies. But when ſhe again frequented them with a magnificent train, this noble generoſity of Scipio did him great honour, eſpecially in the minds of the ladies, who expatiated on it in all their converſations, and in a city, whoſe inhabitants, ſays Polybius, were not eaſily prevailed upon to part with their money.

Scipio was no leſs admired on another occaſion. He was bound, by a condition in the will, to pay, at three different times, to the two eldeſt daughters of Scipio his grandfather by adoption, half their portions, which amounted to 50,000 French crowns *. The time for the payment of the firſt ſum being expired, Scipio put the whole money into the hands of a banker. Tiberius Gracchus, and Scipio Naſica, who had married the two ſiſters, imagining that Scipio had made a miſtake, went to him, and obſerved, that the laws allowed him three years to pay this ſum, and at three different times. Young Scipio anſwered, that he knew very well what the laws directed on this occaſion; that they might indeed be executed in their greateſt rigour with ſtrangers; but that friends and relations ought to treat one another with a more generous ſimplicity; and therefore deſired them to receive the whole ſum. They were ſtruck with ſuch admiration at the generoſity of their kinſman, that, in their return home, they reproached themſelves † for their narrow way of thinking, at a time when they made the greateſt figure, and had the higheſt regard paid to them, of any family in Rome. This generous action, ſays Polybius, was the more admired, becauſe no perſon in Rome, ſo far from conſenting to pay 50,000 crowns before they were due, would pay even 1000 before the time for payment was elapſed.

It was from the ſame noble ſpirit, that, two years after, Paulus Æmilius, his father, being dead, he made over to his brother Fabius, who was not ſo wealthy as himſelf, the part of

* Or, L. 11,259 Sterling.

† Κατεγνωκότες τῆς αὐτῶν μικρολογίας.

their

their father's eſtate which was his (Scipio's) due, (amounting to above 60,000 crowns *) in order that there might not be ſo great a diſparity between his fortune and that of his brother.

This Fabius being deſirous to exhibit a ſhow of gladiators after his father's deceaſe, in honour of his memory, as was the cuſtom in that age, and not being able to defray the expences on this occaſion, which amounted to a very heavy ſum, Scipio made him a preſent of 15,000 crowns †, in order to defray at leaſt half the charges of it.

The ſplendid preſents which Scipio made his mother Papiria, reverted to him, by law as well as equity, after her demiſe; and his ſiſters, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, had not the leaſt claim to them. Nevertheleſs, Scipio thought it would have been diſhonourable in him, had he taken them back again. He therefore made over to his ſiſters whatever he had preſented to their mother, which amounted to a very conſiderable ſum; and by this freſh proof of his glorious diſregard of wealth, and the tender friendſhip he had for his family, acquired the applauſe of the whole city.

Theſe different benefactions, which amounted altogether to a prodigious ſum, ſeem to have received a brighter luſtre from the age in which he beſtowed them, he being ſtill very young, and yet more from the circumſtances of the time when they were preſented, as well as the kind and obliging carriage he aſſumed on thoſe occaſions.

The incidents I have here given, are ſo repugnant to the maxims of this age, that there might be reaſon to fear, the reader would conſider them merely as the rhetorical flouriſhes of an hiſtorian who was prejudiced in favour of his hero, if it was not well known, that the predominant characteriſtic of Polybius, by whom they are related, is a ſincere love for truth, and an utter averſion to adulation of every kind. In the very paſſage whence this relation is extracted, he thought it would be neceſſary for him to be a little guarded, where he expatiates on the virtuous actions and rare qualities of Scipio, and he obſerves, that as his writings were to be peruſed by the Romans, who were perfectly well acquainted with all the particulars of this great man's life, he would certainly be animadverted upon by them, ſhould he venture to advance any falſehood; an affront, to which it is not probable that any author, who is ever ſo little tender of his reputation, would expoſe himſelf, eſpecially if no advantage was to accrue to him from it.

* Or, L.13,500 Sterling. † Or, L.3375 Sterling.

We

We have already obſerved, that Scipio had never given into the faſhionable debaucheries and exceſſes to which the young people at Rome ſo wantonly abandoned themſelves. But he was ſufficiently compenſated for this ſelf-denial of all deſtructive pleaſures, by the vigorous health he enjoyed all the reſt of his life, which enabled him to taſte pleaſures of a much purer and more exalted kind, and to perform the great actions that reflected ſo much glory upon him.

Hunting, which was his darling exerciſe, contributed alſo very much to invigorate his conſtitution, and enable him alſo to endure the hardeſt toils. Macedonia, whither he followed his father, gave him an opportunity of indulging to the utmoſt of his deſire his paſſion in this reſpect; for the chace, which was the uſual diverſion of the Macedonian monarchs, having been laid aſide for ſome years on account of the wars, Scipio found there an incredible quantity of game of every kind. Paulus Æmilius, ſtudious of procuring his ſon virtuous pleaſures of every kind, in order to divert his mind from thoſe which reaſon prohibits, gave him full liberty to indulge himſelf in his favourite ſport, during all the time that the Roman forces continued in that country, after the victory he had gained over Perſeus. The illuſtrious youth employed his leiſure hours in an exerciſe which ſuited ſo well his age and inclination, and was as ſucceſsful in this innocent war againſt the beaſts in Macedonia, as his father had been in that which he had carried on againſt the inhabitants of the country.

It was at Scipio's return from Macedon, that he met with Polybius in Rome, and contracted the ſtrict friendſhip with him, which was afterwards ſo beneficial to our young Roman, and did him almoſt as much honour in after-ages as all his conqueſts. We find, by hiſtory, that Polybius lived with the two brothers. One day, when himſelf and Scipio were alone, the latter vented himſelf freely to him, and complained, but in the mildeſt and moſt gentle terms, that he, in their converſations at table, always directed himſelf to his brother Fabius, and never to him. "I am ſenſible," ſays he, "that this indif-
"ference ariſes from your ſuppoſing, with all our citizens, that
"I am a heedleſs young man, and wholly averſe to the taſte
"which now prevails in Rome, becauſe I do not plead at the
"bar, nor ſtudy the graces of elocution. But how ſhould I
"do this? I am told perpetually, that the Romans expect a
"general, and not an orator, from the houſe of the Scipio's.
"I will confeſs to you (pardon the ſincerity with which I re-
"veal my thoughts) that your coldneſs and indifference grieve
"me

" me exceedingly." Polybius, ſurpriſed at theſe unexpected words, made Scipio the kindeſt anſwer, and aſſured the illuſtrious youth, that though he always directed himſelf to his brother, yet this was not out of diſreſpect to him, but only becauſe Fabius was the eldeſt; not to mention, continued Polybius, that, knowing you poſſeſſed but one ſoul, I conceived that I addreſſed both when I ſpoke to either of you. He then aſſured Scipio, that he was entirely at his command: that with regard to the ſciences, for which he diſcovered the happieſt genius, he would have opportunities ſufficient to improve himſelf in them, from the great number of learned Grecians who reſorted daily to Rome; but that, as to the art of war, which was properly his profeſſion and his favourite ſtudy, he (Polybius) might be of ſome little ſervice to him. He had no ſooner ſpoke theſe words, but Scipio, graſping his hand in a kind of rapture: " Oh! when," ſays he, " ſhall I ſee the happy day, " when, diſengaged from all other avocations, and living with " me, you will be ſo much my friend, as to improve my un- " derſtanding, and regulate my affections? It is then I ſhall " think myſelf worthy of my illuſtrious anceſtors." From that time Polybius, overjoyed to ſee ſo young a man breathe ſuch noble ſentiments, devoted himſelf particularly to our Scipio, who for ever after paid him as much reverence as if he had been his father.

However, Scipio did not only eſteem Polybius as an excellent hiſtorian, but valued him much more, and reaped much greater advantages from him, by his being ſo able a warrior, and ſo profound a politician. Accordingly he conſulted him on every occaſion, and always took his advice even when he was at the head of his army; concerting in private with Polybius all the operations of the campaign, all the movements of the forces, all enterpriſes againſt the enemy, and the ſeveral meaſures proper for rendering them ſucceſsful.

*In a word, it was the common report, that our illuſtrious Roman did not perform any great or good action, but when he was adviſed to it by Polybius, nor ever commit an error, except when he acted without conſulting him.

I flatter myſelf that the reader will excuſe this long digreſſion, which may be thought foreign to my ſubject, as I am not writing the Roman hiſtory. However, it appeared to me ſo well adapted to the general deſign I propoſe to myſelf in this work, *viz.* the cultivating and improving the minds of youth,

* Pauſan. in Arcad. viii. p. 505.

that

that I could not forbear introducing it here, though I was sensible this is not directly its proper place. And, indeed, these examples show, how important it is that young people should receive a liberal and virtuous education, and the great benefit they reap by frequenting and corresponding early with persons of merit; for these were the foundations whereon were built the fame and glory which have rendered Scipio immortal. But, above all, how noble a model for our age (in which the most inconsiderable and even trifling concerns often create feuds and animosities between brothers and sisters, and disturb the peace of families) is the generous disinterestedness of Scipio, who, whenever he had an opportunity of serving his relations, took a delight in bestowing the largest sums upon them! This excellent passage of Polybius had escaped me, by its not being inserted in the folio edition of his works. It belongs indeed naturally to the book, where, treating of the taste with regard to solid glory, I mentioned the contempt in which the ancients held riches, and the excellent use they made of them. I therefore thought myself indispensably obliged to restore, on this occasion, to young students, what I afterwards could not but blame myself for omitting.

THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY AND POSTERITY OF MASINISSA.

I promised, after finishing what related to the republic of Carthage, to return to the family and posterity of Masinissa. This piece of history forms a considerable part of that of Africa, and therefore is not quite foreign to my subject.

*From Masinissa's having declared for the Romans in the time of the first Scipio, he had always adhered to that honourable alliance, with an almost unparalleled zeal and fidelity. Finding his end approaching, he wrote to the proconsul of Africa, under whose standard the younger Scipio then fought, to desire that Roman might be sent to him; adding that he should die with satisfaction, if he could but expire in his arms, after having made him executor to his will. But believing that he should be dead before it could be possible for him to receive this consolation, he sent for his wife and children, and spoke to them as follows: "I know no other nation but the "Romans, and, among this nation, no other family but that "of the Scipio's. I now, in my expiring moments, impower "Scipio Æmilianus to dispose, in an absolute manner, of all

* A. M. 3857. A. Rom. 601. App. p. 65. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2.

" my poſſeſſions, and to divide my kingdom among my children. " I require, that whatever Scipio may decree ſhall be execut- " ed as punctually as if I myſelf had appointed it by my will." After ſaying theſe words, he breathed his laſt, being upwards of 90 years of age.

*This prince, during his youth, had met with ſtrange reverſes of fortune, having been diſpoſſeſſed of his kingdom, obliged to fly from province to province, and a thouſand times in danger of his life. Being ſupported, ſays the hiſtorian, by the divine protection, he was afterwards favoured, till his death, with a perpetual ſeries of proſperity, unruffled by any ſiniſter accident; for he not only recovered his own kingdom, but added to it that of Syphax his enemy, and extending his kingdom from Mauritania as far as Cyrene, he became the moſt powerful prince of all Africa. He was bleſſed, till he left the world, with the greateſt health and vigour, which doubtleſs was owing to his extreme temperance and the toils he perpetually ſuſtained. Though 90 years of age, he performed all the exerciſes uſed by † young men, and always rode without a ſaddle; and Polybius obſerves (a circumſtance preſerved by ‡ Plutarch), that the day after a great victory over the Carthaginians, Maſiniſſa was ſeen ſitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread.

§ He left 54 ſons, of whom three only were legitimate, *viz.* Micipſa, Guluſſa, and Maſtanabal. Scipio divided the kingdom between theſe three, and gave conſiderable poſſeſſions to the reſt: but the two laſt dying ſoon after, Micipſa became ſole poſſeſſor of theſe extenſive dominions. He had two ſons, Adherbal and Hiempſal, whom he educated in his palace with Jugurtha his nephew (Maſtanabal's ſon), of whom he took as much care as he did of his own children ‖. This laſt-mentioned prince poſſeſſed ſeveral eminent qualities, which gained him univerſal eſteem. Jugurtha, who was finely ſhaped, and very handſome, of the moſt delicate wit, and the moſt ſolid judgment, did not devote himſelf, as young men commonly do, to

* Appian. p. 65.

† Cicero introduces Cato, ſpeaking as follows of Maſiniſſa's vigorous conſtitution. Arbitror te audire, Scipio, hoſpes tuus Maſiniſſa quæ faciat hodie nonaginta annos natus; cum ingreſſus iter pedibus ſit, in equum omnino non aſcendere; cum equo, ex equo non deſcendere; nullo imbre, nullo frigore adduci, ut capite operto ſit; ſummam eſſe in eo corporis ſiccitatem. Itaque exequi omnia regis officia et munera. De ſenectute.

‡ An. ſeni gerenda ſit Reſp. p. 791. § Appian. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2.

‖ All this hiſtory of Jugurtha is extracted from Salluſt.

a life

a life of luxury and pleaſure. He uſed to exerciſe himſelf with perſons of his age in running, riding, throwing the javelin; and though he ſurpaſſed all his companions, there was not one of them but loved him. The chace was his only delight, but it was that of lions and other ſavage beaſts. To finiſh his character, he excelled in all things, and ſpoke very little of himſelf: *Plurimum facere, et minimum ipſe de ſe loqui.*

So conſpicuous an aſſemblage of fine talents and perfections began to excite the jealouſy of Micipſa. He ſaw himſelf in the decline of life, and his children very young. * He knew the prodigious lengths which ambition is capable of going, when a crown is in view; and that a man, with talents much inferior to thoſe of Jugurtha, might be dazzled by ſo reſplendent a temptation, eſpecially when united with ſuch favourable circumſtances. In order therefore to remove a competitor, ſo dangerous with regard to his children, he gave Jugurtha the command of the forces which he ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Romans, who, at that time, were beſieging Numantia, under the conduct of Scipio. Knowing Jugurtha was actuated by the moſt heroic bravery, he flattered himſelf that he probably would ruſh upon danger and loſe his life. However he was miſtaken. This young prince joined to an undaunted courage the utmoſt calmneſs of mind; and (a circumſtance very rarely found in perſons of his age) he preſerved a juſt medium between a timorous foreſight, and an impetuous raſhneſs†. In this campaign he won the eſteem and friendſhip of the whole army. Scipio ſent him back to his uncle with letters of recommendation, and the moſt advantageous teſtimonials of his conduct, after having given him very prudent advice with regard to it: for, knowing mankind ſo well, he, in all probability, had diſcovered certain ſparks of ambition in that prince which he feared would one day break out into a flame.

Micipſa, pleaſed with the great character that was ſent him of his nephew, changed his behaviour towards him, and reſolved, if poſſible, to win his affection by kindneſs. Accordingly he adopted him; and, by his will, made him joint-heir with his two ſons. Finding afterwards his end approaching, he ſent for all three, and bid them draw near his bed, where, in

* Terrebat eum natura mortalium, avida imperii, et præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem: Præterea opportunitas ſuæ liberorumque ætatis, quæ etiam mediocres viros ſpe prædæ tranſverſos agit. Salluſt.

† Ac ſane, quod difficillimum imprimis eſt, et prælio ſtrenuus erat, et bonus conſilio: Quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque ſolet.

preſence of his whole court, he put Jugurtha in mind how good he had been to him; conjuring him, in the name of the gods, to defend and protect, on all occaſions, his children, who, being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now become his brethren, by his (Micipſa's) bounty. He told him, that * neither arms nor treaſure conſtitute the ſtrength of a kingdom, but friends, who are not won by arms or gold, but by real ſervices and inviolable fidelity. Now where, ſays he, can we find better friends than our brothers? And how can that man, who becomes an enemy to his relations, repoſe any confidence in, or depend on ſtrangers? He exhorted his ſons to pay the higheſt reverence to Jugurtha, and to diſpute no otherwiſe with him, than by their endeavour to equal, and, if poſſible, ſurpaſs his exalted merit. He concluded with intreating them to obſerve for ever an inviolable attachment with regard to the Romans, and to conſider them as their benefactor, their patron, and maſter. A few days after this, Miſcipſa expired†.

But Jugurtha ſoon threw off the maſk, and began by ridding himſelf of Hiempſal, who had expreſſed himſelf to him with great freedom, and therefore he got him murdered‡. This bloody action proved but too evidently to Adherbal what he himſelf might naturally fear. Numidia is now divided, and ſides ſeverally with the two brothers. Mighty armies are raiſed by each party. Adherbal, after loſing the greateſt part of his fortreſſes, is vanquiſhed in battle, and forced to make Rome his aſylum. However, this gave Jugurtha no very great uneaſineſs, as he knew that money was all-powerful in that city. He therefore ſent deputies thither, with orders for them to bribe the chief ſenators. In the firſt audience to which they were introduced, Adherbal repreſents the unhappy condition to which he was reduced, the injuſtice and barbarity of Jugurtha, the murder of his brother, the loſs of almoſt all his fortreſſes; but the circumſtance on which he laid the greateſt ſtreſs was, the commands of his dying father, *viz.* to put his whole confidence in the Romans; declaring, that the friendſhip of this people would be a ſtronger ſupport both to himſelf and his kingdom than all the troops and treaſures in the univerſe. His ſpeech was of a great length, and extremely pathetic. Jugur-

* Non exercitus, neque theſauri, præſidia regni ſunt, verum amici: Quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas: officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidem invenis, ſi tuis hoſtis fueris?

† A. M. 3887. A. Rom. 631. ‡ A. M. 3888. A. Rom. 632.

tha's

tha's deputies made only the following anſwer: that Hiempſal had been killed by the Numidians, becauſe of his great cruelty; that Adherbal was the aggreſſor, and yet, after having been vanquiſhed, was come to make complaints, becauſe he had not committed all the exceſſes he deſired to act; that their ſovereign intreated the ſenate to form a judgment of his behaviour and conduct in Africa from what he had ſhown at Numantia, and to lay a greater ſtreſs on his actions than on the accuſations of his enemies. But theſe ambaſſadors had ſecretly employed an eloquence much more prevalent than that of words, which had not proved ineffectual. The whole aſſembly was for Jugurtha, a few ſenators excepted, who were not ſo void of honour as to be corrupted by money. The ſenate came to this reſolution, that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent from Rome, to divide the provinces equally upon the ſpot between the two brothers. The reader will naturally ſuppoſe, that Jugurtha was not ſparing of his treaſure on this occaſion: the diviſion was made to his advantage, and yet a ſpecious appearance of equity was preſerved.

This firſt ſucceſs of Jugurtha augmented his courage and boldneſs. Accordingly he attacked his brother by open force; and whilſt the latter loſes his time in ſending deputations to the Romans, he ſtorms ſeveral fortreſſes, carries on his conqueſts, and, after defeating Adherbal, beſieges him in Cirtha, the capital of his kingdom. During this interval, ambaſſadors arrived from Rome with orders, in the name of the ſenate and people, to the two kings, to lay down their arms and ceaſe all hoſtilities. Jugurtha, after proteſting that he would obey, with the moſt profound reverence and ſubmiſſion, the commands of the Roman people, added, that he did not believe it was their intention to hinder him from defending his own life againſt the treacherous ſnares which his brother had laid for it. He concluded with ſaying, that he would ſend ambaſſadors to Rome to inform the ſenate of his conduct. By this random anſwer he eluded their orders, and would not even permit the deputies to wait upon Adherbal.

Though the latter was ſo cloſely blocked up in his capital*,

* He choſe two of the nimbleſt of thoſe who had followed him into Cirtha; and theſe, induced by the great rewards he promiſed them, and pitying his unhappy circumſtances, undertook to paſs through the enemy's camp, in the night, to the neighbouring ſhore, and from thence to Rome. "Ex iis qui una Cirtam profugerant, duos maxime impigros delegit: eos, multa pollicendo, ac miſerando caſum ſuum confirmat, uti "per hoſtium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam per"gerent." Salluſt.

he yet found means to ſend to Rome, to implore the aſſiſtance of the Romans againſt his brother, who had beſieged him five months, and intended to take away his life. Some ſenators were of opinion, that war ought to be proclaimed immediately againſt Jugurtha: but ſtill his credit prevailed, and the Romans only ordered an embaſſy to be ſent, compoſed of ſenators of the higheſt diſtinction, among whom was Æmilius Scaurus, a factious man, who had a great aſcendant over the nobility, and concealed the blackeſt vices under the ſpecious appearance of virtue. Jugurtha was terrified at firſt; but he again found an opportunity to elude their demands, and accordingly ſent them back without coming to any concluſion. Upon this, Adherbal, who had loſt all hopes, ſurrendered upon condition of having his life ſpared; nevertheleſs he was immediately murdered with a great number of Numidians.

But though the greateſt part of the people at Rome were ſtruck with horror at this news, Jugurtha's money again obtained him defenders in the ſenate. However, C. Memmius, the tribune of the people, an active man, and who hated the nobility, prevailed with the former not to ſuffer ſo horrid a crime to go unpuniſhed; and accordingly war being proclaimed againſt Jugurtha, Calpurnius Beſtia the conſul was appointed to carry it on*. † He was endued with excellent qualities, but they were all depraved and rendered uſeleſs by his avarice. Scaurus ſet out with him. They at firſt took ſeveral towns; but Jugurtha's bribes checked the progreſs of theſe conqueſts; and Scaurus‡ himſelf, who, till now, had expreſſed the ſtrongeſt animoſity againſt this prince, could not reſiſt ſo powerful an attack. A treaty was therefore concluded; Jugurtha feigned to ſubmit to the Romans, and 30 elephants, ſome horſes, with a very inconſiderable ſum of money, were delivered to the quæſtor.

But now the indignation of the people in general at Rome diſplayed itſelf in the ſtrongeſt manner. Memmius the tribune fired them by his ſpeeches. He cauſed Caſſius, who was prætor, to be appointed to attend Jugurtha, and to engage him to come to Rome, under the guarantee of the Romans, in order that an inquiry might be made in his preſence who thoſe perſons were that had taken bribes. Accordingly, Jugurtha was forced to come to Rome. The ſight of him raiſed the

* A. M. 3894. A. Rom. 638. Ant. J. C. 110.

† Multæ bonæque artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnes avaritia præpediebat.

‡ Magnitudine pecuniæ a bono honeſtoque in pravum abſtractus eſt.

anger

anger of the people ſtill higher; but a tribune having been bribed, he prolonged the ſeſſion, and at laſt diſſolved it. A Numidian prince (grandſon of Maſiniſſa), called Maſſiva, being at that time in the city, was adviſed to ſolicit for Jugurtha's kingdom; which coming to the ears of the latter, he got him aſſaſſinated in the midſt of Rome. However, the murderer was ſeized, and delivered up to the civil magiſtrate, and Jugurtha was commanded to depart Italy. Upon leaving the city, he caſt back his eyes ſeveral times towards it, and ſaid, "Rome wants only a purchaſer; and, were one to be found, "it were inevitably ruined *.

And now the war broke out anew. At firſt the indolence, or perhaps connivance, of Albinus the conſul, made it go on very ſlowly; but afterwards, when he returned to Rome to hold the public aſſemblies †, the Roman army, by the unſkilfulneſs of his brother Aulus, having marched into a defile from whence there was no getting out, it ſurrendered ignominiouſly to the enemy, who forced the Romans to ſubmit to the ceremony of paſſing under the yoke, and made them engage to leave Numidia in ten days.

The reader will naturally ſuppoſe, that ſo ſhameful a peace, concluded without the authority of the people, was conſidered in a moſt odious light at Rome. They could not flatter themſelves with the hopes of being ſucceſsful in this war, till the conduct of it was given to L. Metellus the conſul. ‡ To all the reſt of the virtues which conſtitute the great captain, he added a perfect diſregard of wealth; a quality moſt eſſentially requiſite againſt ſuch an enemy as Jugurtha, who hitherto had always been victorious, rather by money than his ſword. But the African monarch found Metellus as inacceſſible in this, as in all other reſpects. He therefore was forced to venture his life, and exert his utmoſt bravery, through the defect of an expedient which now began to fail him. Accordingly, he ſignalized himſelf in a ſurpriſing manner, and ſhowed in this campaign all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention of an illuſtrious general, to whom deſpair adds new vigour, and ſuggeſts new lights: He was, however, unſucceſsful, becauſe oppoſed by a conſul, who did not ſuffer

* Poſtquam Roma egreſſus eſt, fertur ſæpe eo tacitus reſpiciens, poſtremo dixiſſe: Urbem venalem et mature perituram, ſi emptorem invenerit.

† For electing magiſtrates. Sal.

‡ In Numidiam proficiſcitur, magna ſpe civium, cum propter artes bonas, tum maxime quod adverſum divitias invictum animum gerebat.

the

the moſt inconſiderable error to eſcape him, nor ever let ſlip an opportunity of taking advantage of the enemy.

Jugurtha's greateſt concern was, how to ſecure himſelf from traitors. From the time he had been told that Bomilcar, in whom he repoſed the utmoſt confidence, had a deſign upon his life, he enjoyed no peace. He did not believe himſelf ſafe any where; but all things, by day as well as night, the citizen as well as foreigner, were ſuſpected by him; and the blackeſt terrors ſat ever brooding over his mind. He never got a wink of ſleep, except by ſtealth; and often changed his bed, in a manner unbecoming his rank. Starting ſometimes from his ſlumbers, he would ſnatch his ſword, and break into loud cries; ſo ſtrongly was he haunted by fear, and ſo ſtrangely did he act the madman.

Marius was Metellus's lieutenant. His boundleſs ambition induced him to endeavour to leſſen his general's character ſecretly in the minds of his ſoldiers; and becoming ſoon his profeſſed enemy and ſlanderer, he at laſt, by the moſt groveling and perfidious arts, prevailed ſo far, as to ſupplant Metellus, and get himſelf nominated in his room to carry on the war againſt Jugurtha*. With what ſtrength of mind ſoever Metellus might be endued on other occaſions, he was totally dejected by this unforeſeen blow, which even forced tears from his eyes, and ſuch expreſſions, as were altogether unworthy ſo great a man. There was ſomething very dark and vile in Marius's procedure; a circumſtance that diſplays ambition in its native and genuine colours, and ſhows that it extinguiſhes, in thoſe who abandon themſelves to it, all ſenſe of honour and integrity. Metellus avoided a man whoſe ſight he could not bear, arrived at Rome, and was received there with univerſal acclamations. A triumph was decreed him, and the ſurname of Numidicus conferred upon him †.

I thought it would be proper to ſuſpend, till I came to the Roman hiſtory, an account of the events that happened in Africa, under Metellus and Marius, all which are very circumſtantially deſcribed by Salluſt, in his admirable hiſtory of Jugurtha. I therefore haſten to the concluſion of this war.

Jugurtha being greatly diſtreſſed in his affairs, had recourſe to Bocchus king of Mauritania, whoſe daughter he had married. This country extends from Numidia, as far as beyond the

* Quibus rebus ſupra bonum atque honeſtum perculſus, neque lacrymas tenere, neque moderari linguam, vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis molliter ægritudinem pati.

† A. M. 3898. A. Rom. 642.

ſhores

ſhores of the Mediterranean oppoſite to Spain *. The Roman name was ſcarce known in it, and the people as little known to the Romans. Jugurtha inſinuated to his father-in-law, that, ſhould he ſuffer Numidia to be conquered, his kingdom would doubtleſs be involved in its ruin; eſpecially as the Romans, who were ſworn enemies to monarchy, ſeemed to have vowed the deſtruction of all the thrones in the univerſe. He therefore prevailed with Bocchus to enter into a league with him; and accordingly received, on different occaſions, very conſiderable ſuccours from that king.

This confederacy, which was cemented on either ſide by no other tie but that of intereſt, had never been ſtrong; and a laſt defeat which Jugurtha met with, broke at once all the bands of it. Bocchus now meditated the dark deſign of delivering up his ſon-in-law to the Romans. For this purpoſe he had deſired Marius to ſend him a truſty perſon. Sylla, who was an officer of uncommon merit, and ſerved under him as quæſtor, was thought every-way qualified for this negotiation. He was not afraid to truſt himſelf in the hands of the Barbarian king, and accordingly ſet out for his court. Being arrived, Bocchus, who, like the reſt of his countrymen, did not pride himſelf in ſincerity, and was for ever projecting new deſigns, debated within himſelf, whether it would not be his intereſt to deliver up Sylla to Jugurtha. He was a long time fluctuating with uncertainty, and between a contrariety of ſentiments: and the ſudden changes which diſplayed themſelves in his countenance, in his air, and his whole perſon, ſhowed evidently how ſtrongly his mind was affected. At length, returning to his firſt deſign, he made his terms with Sylla, and delivered up Jugurtha into his hands, who was ſent immediately to Marius.

† Sylla, ſays Plutarch ‡, acted, on this occaſion, like a young man, fired with a ſtrong thirſt of glory, the ſweets of which he had juſt begun to taſte. Inſtead of aſcribing to the general under whom he fought all the honour of this event, as his duty required, and which ought to be an inviolable maxim, he reſerved the greateſt part of it to himſelf, and had a ring made, which he always wore, wherein he was repreſented receiving Jugurtha from the hands of Bocchus; and this ring he uſed ever after as his ſignet. But Marius was ſo highly exaſperated at this kind of inſult, that he could never forgive him; a cir-

* Now comprehending Fez, Morocco, &c.

† Plut. in vit. Marii.

‡ Οἷα νέος φιλότιμος, ἅρτι δίξης γεγευμένος, οὐκ ἤνεγκε μετρίως τὸ εὐτύχημα. Plut. Præcept. reip. gerend. p. 806.

cumſtance

cumſtance that gave riſe to the implacable hatred between theſe two Romans, which afterwards broke out with ſo much fury, and coſt the republic ſo much blood.

* Marius entered Rome in triumph, exhibiting ſuch a ſpectacle to the Romans, as they could ſcarce believe they ſaw, when it paſſed before their eyes; I mean, Jugurtha in chains; that ſo formidable an enemy, during whoſe life they could not flatter themſelves with the hopes of being able to put an end to this war, ſo well was his courage ſuſtained by ſtratagem and artifice, and his genius ſo fruitful in finding new expedients, even when his affairs were moſt deſperate. We are told, that Jugurtha ran diſtracted, as he was walking in the triumph; that after the ceremony was ended, he was thrown into priſon; and that the lictors were ſo eager to ſeize his robe, that they rent it in ſeveral pieces, and tore away the tips of his ears, to get the rich jewels with which they were adorned. In this condition he was caſt, quite naked, and in the utmoſt terrors, into a deep dungeon, where he ſpent ſix days in ſtruggling with hunger and the fear of death, retaining a ſtrong deſire of life to his laſt gaſp; an end, continues Plutarch, worthy of his wicked deeds; Jugurtha having been always of opinion, that the greateſt crimes might be committed to ſatiate his ambition, ingratitude, perfidy, black treachery, and inhuman barbarity.

Juba, king of Mauritania, reflected ſo much honour on polite literature and the ſciences, that I could not, without impropriety, omit him in the hiſtory of the family of Maſiniſſa, to whom his father, who was alſo named Juba, was great grandſon, and grandſon of Guluſſa. The elder Juba ſignalized himſelf in the war between Cæſar and Pompey, by his inviolable attachment to the party of the latter hero. He ſlew himſelf after the battle of Thapſus, in which his forces, and thoſe of Scipio, were entirely defeated. Juba, his ſon, then a child, was delivered up to the conqueror, and was one of the moſt conſpicuous ornaments of his triumph. It appears from hiſtory, that a noble education was beſtowed upon Juba in Rome, where he imbibed ſuch a variety of knowledge, as afterwards equalled him to the moſt learned Grecians. He did not leave that city till he went to take poſſeſſion of his father's dominions †: Auguſtus reſtored them to him, when, by the death of Mark Antony, the provinces of the empire were abſolutely at his diſpoſal. Juba, by the lenity of his government, gained

* A. M. 3901. A. Rom. 645. Ant. J. C. 103. Plut. in vit. Marii.
† A. M. 3974. A. Rom. 719. Ant. J. C. 30.

the

the hearts of all his ſubjects; who, out of a grateful ſenſe of the felicity they had enjoyed during his reign, ranked him in the number of their gods. Pauſanias ſpeaks of a ſtatue which the Athenians erected in his honour. It was indeed juſt, that a city, which had been conſecrated in all ages to the Muſes, ſhould give public teſtimonies of its eſteem for a king, who made ſo bright a figure among the learned. * Suidas aſcribes ſeveral works to this prince, of which only the fragments are now extant. He had written the hiſtory of Arabia; the antiquities of Aſſyria, and thoſe of the Romans; the hiſtory of theatres, of painting, and painters; of the nature and properties of different animals, and of grammar, *&c.* a catalogue of all which is given in Abbé Sevin's ſhort diſſertation on the life and works of the younger Juba †, whence I have extracted theſe few particulars.

* In voce Ἰόβας. † Vol. IV. of the Memoirs of the Academy of the Belles Lettres, p. 457.

END OF VOL. I.